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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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21 March 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

ANKARA VIEWS SERIOUSLY REPRESSION OF TURKS IN BULGARIA

Paris LE MONDE in French 24-25 Feb 85 p 4

[Text] The Ankara government has considerably stiffened its attitude in connection with repressions of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria and has made it officially known that repudiations by the authorities in Sofia are not quite "credible."

In a protest note handed to the Bulgarian ambassador in Ankara on 22 February (our last editions are dated 23 February) the Turkish Government points out the following: "It seems that a large-scale campaign is underway in Bulgaria with the purpose of changing the names of Turks and converting them, by means of coercion, into Bulgarian names; it seems that force has been used against those who resisted, and that many Turks have been killed or wounded."

The authorities in Ankara, whose attitude at first was very cautious, seem to have significantly changed their attitude under the pressure of public opinion; they point out in their protest note that "one cannot tolerate" the conditions of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria (whose number, according to some estimates, ranges from 800,000 to 1,000,000 souls) and request that their remonstrance be followed by a quick "response." It seems that Ankara has now decided to negotiate with Sofia an agreement that will allow the repatriation of a large number of Turks from Bulgaria.

CSO: 3519/201

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GROWTH OF WESTERN CONSERVATISM SEEN AS THREAT

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 1, 1985 pp 42-44

[Article by Pavel Novak: "Present Form and Danger of Conservatism"]

[Excerpts] A new phenomenon of its own kind, now gaining a comparatively influential position on the stage of the capitalist world, conservatism, is exerting considerable influence in various spheres of social life and represents an ideological, philosophical and political trend of wide-ranging impact. It is not, understandably, the only trend at work in the capitalist world, since it is being challenged constantly by democratic forces which have not lost ground by any means. But in no way should one underestimate the political and ideological onslaught of the most reactionary, militant circles of the monopolistic bourgeoisie launched under the banner of conservatism, which characterizes itself sometimes as neoconservatism, sometimes as ultra-conservatism, and other times as true conservatism.

In the United States, in the second half of the 1970's and the first half of the 1980's, when the California coterie of monopolistic big business was gradually gaining influence in the economic, political and military structures, we witnessed a process by which the center of political power shifted significantly to the right, and the movement to the right made its mark throughout the entire American society. The election of R. Reagan to the presidency of the United States personified the rapacious drive by the most rightist conservative circles to gain key political positions, and Washington's policies thereafter increased their reactionary pressures on other capitalist countries. To put it graphically, the United States became a locomotive pulling the capitalist world behind it in a reactionary direction and conservative orientation. Reagan's re-election to another 4-year term reconfirmed the notion that American monopolistic capital, or to be more precise, its hegemonic core, gives unequivocal preference to conservative methods of managing the capitalist society of the United States.

The activation of radical rightist forces, neofascist elements and organizations among them, has manifested itself differently in various countries. In some countries, such as Great Britain, the German Federal Republic, Denmark, Norway and Belgium, the turn toward the right led to the replacement of social-democratic and bourgeois-liberal governments by bourgeois governments of various shades of conservatism. In other countries, such as France, Austria and

Sweden, bourgeois circles, which were unable to effect a change to their advantage, are intensifying their attacks with the aim of seizing political power. In some cases, neoconservative policies are essentially being followed, albeit in a somewhat muted manner, with the assistance of the socialist parties in power. One such instance is the case of the government in Portugal headed by socialist premier M. Soares, and in a certain sense the same can be said about the French government headed by the socialists F. Mitterand and J. Fabius.

Last year's elections to the so-called European Parliament, characterized by an exceptionally low voter participation, also strengthened the position of rightist forces in France, including those on the extreme right, bordering on fascism. In Italy the neofascist party benefited, for a number of reasons, by picking up the residue of votes of the traditional conservative political forces which have dominated the Italian political scene for decades. In Austria the growth of conservative moods and trends manifested itself in the results of the latest parliamentary elections, when the Austrian Peoples' Party made inroads into the positions of the governing Socialist Party. The momentum of aggressive conservatism was somewhat more moderate in those countries which 10 years ago had rid themselves of extremely rightist, fascist regimes, as in Spain, Greece, and Portugal.

As far as the substance of the rightist conservative trend is concerned, one can summarize it by noting that members of the conservative circles in advanced capitalist countries hold basically the same opinions and positions. In the economic area, the aim is to replace the reformist model of development, based on the Keynesian methods of state monopoly management and social engineering, with a monetary model, which is oriented toward freeing private business from government interference, a comprehensive stimulation of trade relations and a drastic curtailment of social expenditures. Considerable tax reliefs and other advantages granted to big business serve toward this end, including government grants which are mutually conditioned and are evidenced in increasing military expenditures. The economic programs of the Reagan administration, Mrs Thatcher's government and H. Kohl's cabinet are being advertised as if some kind of return to a "free market" were at stake, although in reality the aim, first and foremost, is the elimination of all past restrictions to which monopolies were subject.

In the social sphere, the previous orientation toward "social compromise" was abandoned in favor of an effort directed toward "hard economics" and carried out at the expense of the working people. Earlier propaganda polemics about "social economics," which will lead to "universal affluence," were replaced by apologies for "economic realism," free from any sentimentality. That in turn led in practice to a drastic curtailment of social programs, and the former theory of "social harmony" or "social partnership" was supplanted by assertions about "permanent inequality," which found expression in Mrs Thatcher's official formula about "the right to be unequal."

The conservatives are cynically taking advantage of worker's fears of unemployment and are mounting an offensive against the hard-won rights of the working people, against their trade unions and political organizations. A

graphic example of this are the measures that the British Government is taking to break the strike of the British miners, showing at the same time how extensive is its list of means for suppressing the just demands for the right to work for which the British miners are striking. Not only are the rules of bourgeois democracy being trampled on, but its sacred cow, the so-called "pluralism," is also being called into question, as if it were the main reason for the inadequate efficacy of the methods of management. Priority is being given to various forms of "corporatism," which are supposed to put an end to the current "pluralistic instability" of social relations in capitalist countries.

Another manifestation of conservatism is the cultivated tendency to distract the attention of the working people from domestic social tensions by arousing chauvinistic passions in the masses, a superpatriotic mood, a revanchist attitude as an integral part and flip side of the militaristic psychosis. In the United States the cult of a "strong America" reigns supreme, ready at any time and anywhere to take up arms, as was the case in the attack on Grenada. Even in Great Britain the so-called "triumph of the Falklands" served as a means by which the "national pride" shunted social discontent onto the sidelines.

On the whole, one can characterize contemporary conservatism as a sharply defined, anticommunist, antidemocratic, antiliberal trend, permeated by a hatred of social progress and those who would bring it about, of all democratic forces and progressive parties, communists most of all. From the source also springs the international political course of conservatism and militarism in the United States and its support in NATO, aimed at all costs at achieving military superiority of the United States over the Soviet Union, at destroying strategic parity. This course is permeated with virulent anti-Sovietism, whose rhetoric has at times a pathological, at other times a would-be "peace-loving" tone.

Expectations at the time of relaxed tensions of a "softening" or "disintegration" of socialism by ideological and political means did not pan out, and members of conservative forces were precisely the ones who best served the efforts of aggressive imperialist circles, because they represented a guarantee that they would activate and escalate forceful pressures on the socialist world and movements of national liberation. This development toward attaining a "position of strength and superiority" already began in the Carter administration and is now culminating in the process of deploying a new generation of American missiles in Western Europe, which dangerously heightens the threat of a nuclear conflict. In this situation, the most reactionary groups of monopolistic bourgeoisie not only began to gain access to the levers of power, they have reached that goal. In this they were helped to a considerable degree by the influence of military-industrial complexes on the sociopolitical life of the principal capitalist countries.

Conservatism thus became the ideological and political tool best suited to the realization of a new and well-defined strategy of monopolistic capital. The new orientation of the governing classes in the capitalist countries did not always manifest itself in the same way and in the same intensity, but with all

the diversity one thing is certain and without doubt: the resurgence of conservatism in the ideology and politics of the capitalist world mirrors general, deep-rooted tendencies, it is conditioned by a sharp focusing of the crisis of capitalism and represents one of its manifestations. By replacing bourgeois-liberal and bourgeois-reformist methods of managing society with conservative methods, the governing class believes that it has found the very optimum way of weakening the developing crisis and, most of all, of consolidating its power.

One more aspect has to be kept in mind, especially when it comes to the United States. At the juncture of the 1970's and 1980's there occurred here a singular division into prospective (growing) and nonprospective (declining) branches, and the location of new industries in the so-called "sun-belt region," where there are no trade-union traditions and therefore a far greater receptiveness to the influence of conservative ideology exists. In the "non-prospective" sectors there was again a growing effort on the part of the working people to protect their jobs, accompanied by a critical attitude toward technological advances, and this situation was exploited and parasitized by the conservative forces.

Although conservatism achieved a degree of influence over some of the workers, it did not achieve a decisive success. Another matter, however, is the question of its influence on the middle class, which unites in its ranks the petty bourgeoisie, various categories of white-collar workers, the service sector and the intelligentsia. Their values, attitudes, orientation and political behavior were put to a hard test in the post-war years. The traditional belief in the "superiority" of their position in comparison to the working class did not stand up to the test of time. The crisis of the last decade caused material losses to many members of the middle class, a decline in their social status, and a restricted social mobility. That did not, however, lead to the dissolution of their illusions about their somehow privileged positions, their interest in and partiality to conservative thinking and values, which were confirmed by the recent improvements in their material condition, giving them an opportunity to find employment and higher earnings in the so-called prospective sectors, mostly those in the service of the military build-up.

If the lower-level white-collar workers differ on the whole only little from the blue-collar workers in their position within the system of social production and in their resistance to conservative thought, then the mid-level white-collar workers are far, far more susceptible to its influence. Members of this group psychologically identify themselves with the capitalist social system, share the ideology of technocracy and elitism; that is true especially of the new American middle class, which was the mainstay of Reagan's candidacy and whose votes were decisive in a situation where 85 million, mostly the socially most disadvantaged, Americans did not reach the polling place.

The high receptiveness of the middle classes to the influences of conservative opinion as compared to the working class does not mean, however, that they are entirely in the conservatives' pocket. In the United States, for example, a not insignificant number of them retained their bourgeois-liberal convictions and gave their votes during the 1984 presidential elections to the candidate

of the Democratic Party, W. Mondale. In the German Federal Republic the "Greens" Party as well as other alternative movements also receive their support from the middle classes. It would be wrong, therefore, not to see in them, too, an element of anticonservative potential.

The generally antipeople domestic policy and the aggressive foreign policy of the conservative forces, unintentionally and contrary to their ideas and concepts, are creating a tremendous potential for resistance in the masses. In the resulting situation, the political parties who are defending the interests of the working class target their efforts to stem the tide of conservatism and defend and broaden the gains of the workers. The working class, its trade-union and political organizations, and the leftist forces as a whole are employing all means at their disposal not only to stop the escalating activation of conservatism, but to mount a fierce counter-blow.

However, the fundamental precondition for success is the consolidation of the working class, overcoming divisions among its various factions, and the liberation of the middle class from the influence of conservatism. Of decisive importance in this respect is the formulation of convincing alternative programs by the leftist forces in the economic and political spheres, an untiring struggle for their implementation, combined with escalating activity on the part of the defenders of peace, and with an intensification of the anti-imperialistic substance of the movement to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, the vanguard of which are the communists in close association with all antiwar and anti-imperialist forces.

12605
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WEST GERMANY'S STRAUSS CRITICIZED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Feb 85 p 7

[Article by Jan Kovarik: "Bavarian Vision"]

[Text] F.J. Strauss, chairman of the Bavarian Land Government and leader of the Christian Social Union (CSU), stated in Passau that the "German question remains open" and that in his view its solution lies in forming a so-called free Europe. According to his ideas, this should require the "elimination of communism and socialism."

Strauss has always been an anticommunist. In this respect he considers himself to be a pupil of the infamous Chancellor Adenauer. Hence he opposed the FRG's treaties with the socialist countries, rejected the Helsinki Final Act, and, whenever he heard the term "detente," he would become agitated. However, Strauss is the chairman of one of the government parties which, under the leadership of Chancellor Kohl, make up the Bonn coalition. And this government, of which the CSU is a member, speaks about "good will" in cooperating with the socialist countries and about respecting the treaties concluded in the 1970's. Thus, it is really difficult to understand what Strauss's speech in Passau has in common with the idea of cooperation.

This is not the first time and obviously not the last time that Strauss offered advice to all sides without asking whether anybody is interested in it. And he enjoys the applause of the revanchist LANDSMANSCHAFTEN. While it is true that in West Germany one knows that not everything Strauss says should be taken seriously, the fact is that the Passau sermon, containing hateful attacks against the socialist countries, cannot be classified as a harmless "Sunday talk" delivered from time to time by West German politicians. His speech obviously reflects a Bavarian vision of freedom which he would like to implement in international relations. As a candidate for the chancellorship in 1980 he failed with such an approach. Nevertheless, he is staunchly adhering to it. At this moment he is marching with this vision under the banner of Reagan's crusade. And he is so certain of his own infallibility that in spite of his training as a historian he forgets the fate of similar crusades in the past.

1277
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STATISTICS ON CENTRAL SLOVAKIA

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Feb 85 p 3

[Text] By its area of 17,978 square kilometers it is the biggest kraj in the CSSR. Around 346,000 apartments and 177 industrial plants and other establishments have been constructed here since 1949. The production sector employs a total of 724,000 workers, including approximately 300,000 in industry.

More than 50 percent of Slovakia's engineering production is located in this kraj, which accounts for 45 percent of the SSR's export of engineering and electrotechnical products. In comparison with 1949, industrial production increased 25 times by 1983. At the present time daily production equals the entire 1937 production. Among the major enterprises participating in international economic cooperation and socialist integration are, for example, Brezno Bridge Construction Plant, ZTS [Heavy Engineering Plants] at Martin and Detva, Tesla Nizna, 1 May Rubber Plants, SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Plants at Ziar and Hronom, and others.

Together with the growth of industry, the basic research basis is being expanded. At the present time there are in the kraj 15 independent research centers and 82 research-development centers with 13,000 experts. More than 12,000 students are studying at faculties of schools of higher learning. In Banska Bystrica alone there are more university and high-school teachers than there were high-school students prior to 1945.

Revolutionary changes have taken place in health care. Children's mortality was 35 per mill 40 years ago, but declined to 17.3 per mill last year. Medical preventive care is of good standard. Twenty-three hospitals with polyclinics, 19 independent polyclinics and 9 specialized medical institutes have 12,490 beds at their disposal. The number of physicians considerably increased. While there was one physician per 2,085 inhabitants in 1951, their latter number on the average has declined to 323 today.

Additional data testify to an increase in the living standard. The retail trade turnover amounted to Kcs 5.9 billion in 1956 and to approximately Kcs 26 billion in 1983. Individual incomes totalled Kcs 36 billion this year, which was four times as much as in 1961. There were 276,000 persons who regularly saved 10 years ago, but there are 373,500 today. Their deposits in savings accounts exceed Kcs 18 billion.

There are 24 museums in the kraj which are visited by almost one million persons during the year. The SNP museum has the biggest number of visitors. Approximately 3,500 groups engaged in artistic activity as a hobby stage 40,000 performances per year, which are attended by 1.5 million persons. A total of 70 puppet theaters for children are active in the kraj. There are 300 movie houses with the annual attendance of 6.2 million.

There are 10 protected regions in Central Slovakia with a total area of 414,438 hectares. The biggest among them is the Lower Tatra National Park. Also protected are small communities, rare natural formations, trees, and so on. This represents an additional 27,410 hectares. As a result, a full one-fifth of the Central Slovakia Kraj's area is protected.

10501
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1984 TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS IN CSR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by (k): "Figures Are Still Warning"]

[Text] More than 97,000 traffic accidents took place in 1984 in which 1,235 persons lost their lives, more than 5,500 were gravely and 25,000 slightly injured. Although, despite the constantly rising road traffic, the number of killed and severely injured in traffic accidents declined, the figures still remain very high and the causes of accidents are often startling.

In comparison with the preceding year the number of pedestrians killed declined by 92. Collisions with motor vehicles, however, are still among the most tragic ones: 416 pedestrians including 90 children perished in them.

Constant appeals to drivers regarding the use of seat belts, observance of the speed limit or adjustment to the conditions on the road or sudden weather changes have often failed. Due to improper speed alone 489 people lost their lives and more than 40 percent of fatal traffic accidents occurred on snow-covered or icy roads. The members of VB [Public Security] during the investigation of traffic accidents found that more than 50 percent of drivers and passengers who perished in wrecks of passenger cars had failed to fasten their seat belts.

Alcohol also was responsible for deaths on the roads. It was discovered in the blood of drivers or pedestrians in 188 accidents in which 224 persons perished. Also alarming are the VB statistics according to which a full third of accidents which occurred between 8 pm and 3 am were caused by the alcohol found in the blood of the driver or pedestrians.

10501
CSO: 2400/279

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CAUSES OF JUVENILE CRIMINALITY EXPLORED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 85 p 3

[Article by Hana Labudova: "To the Children for the Journey"]

[Excerpt] The number of juvenile offenders from 15 to 18 years of age rose in 1983 by almost one-fourth when compared with 1979. There are almost 10,000 children in this age group who are punished each year by order of the court. If children up to the age of 15 were also legally punishable the number of lawbreakers and offenders would increase by another 10,000.

I wrote down these data during a discussion at a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Women which dealt with the educational influence of the family on adolescents, that is, on youth between the ages of 14 and 18. The further development of all aspects of society in the next century depends on what happens in this period of young people's lives.

Until recently the period of the so-called puberty was blamed for everything; unfortunately, it is often even today a handy alibi for negligence, even for mistakes in upbringing accumulated from the time of the offspring's first steps. In adolescence they are returned with high interest.

The criminality of adolescents is the extreme practical proof of Makarenkov's statement, "There is no bad youth, there are only bad educators." There are, however, a great many other expressions [of bad education] that seem less dangerous at first sight. They range from the inability to stand on one's own feet, choose one's occupation, to carelessness in entering into intimate relationships and establishing one's own family at a time of social and mental immaturity, to taking superficial approaches to life and society in general.

There is an increase in expressions of emotional disaffection in families, in the parental tendency to put all or at least the greatest possible responsibility for the upbringing of children beyond the age of 15 on society as such. In families with adolescent children where the mother is gainfully employed there is no shortage of everyday worries, occasionally even of "small" family disasters. And we are not even

talking about broken homes or single-parent families--there the situation is even more complicated. Each day brings new questions and situations, forcing parents to react immediately, without any preparation. Few of them recall at such moments the characteristic traits of a so-called adolescent, a teenager, in order to gain from them an insight which would help them act instantly in an instructive way.

The material published by the United Nations on the occasion of the International Children's Year 1979 frequently called attention to the surprising ignorance of parents of all social strata concerning what can be expected of children of a certain age and what their real needs are. This serious shortcoming pertains to practically all relatively young parents regardless of their qualifications and their occupation. Czechoslovak public inquiries and surveys demonstrate repeatedly that there is neither any training nor any occupation in our country which would automatically insure necessary knowledge of the field of marriage and parenthood.

It is probably fashionable today to put the blame for problems in marriage and upbringing of adolescent children on the high employment of our women, on their increasing tasks and ambitions in their professional life. One of the arguments against such an opinion can be the fact that the great majority of misdemeanors are committed by children and juveniles during the afternoon and evening hours, on Saturdays and Sundays, that is, at a time when most parents are at home. The fault is elsewhere. We know about the discrepancy in the pace of the physical and mental development of today's youth. There is a similar discrepancy between the existing equality our society allots to a mother and the obstacles that prevent her from fulfilling her double role as a mother and a worker without problems. And then there is also the conservatism of some men in comprehending the family and the role of a woman. A great many women already know the haughty male sentence uttered whenever something goes wrong with an offspring: "That is the result of the way you brought the child up." And at the same time it is a foregone conclusion that it is the mother who bears the greatest responsibility for the child; that, of course, was the way it used to be at the home of the father's parents, so why change anything?

But--except perhaps for the way in which children are conceived--everything in and around the family has changed, and virtually in the course of one generation at that. The present-day typical young family cannot be compared with a family of the preceding generation. There are really few examples in history when such far-reaching changes took place in such a short time. This fact in itself almost compels a change in the approach to the family as the object of research and, above all, of general interest. It requires the establishment of an effective system of education for marriage and parenthood. Programs in television, lectures by social organizations or medical personnel--geared, by the way, primarily toward women--obviously are not enough. There is also not adequate sound literature for parents who are bringing up adolescent children. The course "Education for Parenthood," introduced in all types of schools, has been thus far underestimated, as is shown by the fact that it is often taught by people without the necessary qualifications.

The period of adolescence should not be a cold shower and an unpleasant "surprise" in any family. Parents who are thoroughly prepared for this time, who have carefully followed their child's development throughout all of his or her life, can avoid this surprise. But they will not be able to do so without the necessary, multifaceted help of the society if they will want to give their children the most valuable equipment for the journey through life.

12435
CSO: 2400/280

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FUTURE DANUBE RIVER DAM DESCRIBED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Feb 85 p 5

[Article by Miloslav Vltavsky]

[Text] We stopped at an elevated point on the road to take a look at a construction excavation which, sometime in the future, will house an electric water power station. This was a strange way to look at a future dam without seeing a river. One may have a feeling of a hide-and-seek game or a simulation project. However, eight Kaplan turbines linked to the hydroalternators with an output of up to 720 megawatts will be in place.

"This is a strange waterworks," I said in a low voice. My guide had good hearing. "Let's change the term 'strange' to 'remarkable,'" said Engr Milan Donoval, department director of the Slovak Ministry of Construction. "And it resembles the Gabcikovo Waterworks by more than its power output," added his colleague, Engr Gustav Zatklik.

"We still remember what they taught us at the university, namely, that a dam must be built at the narrowest point between two wide banks, preferably rocky banks, where a relative nonporous bottom is also present," said Engr Jan Giertli in order to make the theory more simple. He continued: "However, in this case we had to build the dam farther away from Bratislava, at a higher point, farther upstream." "Perhaps we could call it bad luck," added Engr Alfred Lacko, "or rather good luck that we were charged with a construction project which is something more than a wall between two steep banks and whose significance is somewhat more than being a producer of energy." From what he said I surmised that the directors of the Hydroconstruction plant from Komarno and Gabcikovo understand one another.

A remarkable construction project is involved on a remarkable river which has influenced the historic, political and economic development of the countries of the old continent much more than other great European rivers. It is a project encompassing the entire Czechoslovak section of the Danube and ending below Nagymaros in neighboring Hungary.

"The entire section will have a navigation channel with a minimum depth of 3.6 to 4 meters, sufficiently wide and with a gentle curve. It is a further

contribution to the system of waterways under construction," said Engr Gustav Zatklik. His additional comment revealed the heart of a hydraulic engineer. "After the walls of the reservoir are completed we should not see a repetition of the catastrophic floods, the last of which occurred in 1965," added the department director of the Slovak Ministry of Forestry and Water Management.

The remaining contributions are no less favorable than the old ones. From the new reservoirs our farmers can pump water, which is one of the conditions for the intensive development of production in the Danube Lowlands. And the same applies to our industrial plants. Large water reservoirs here as well as water from the Danube River will offer excellent conditions for sports and recreation and will favorably influence the weather of the surrounding area.

Nothing like this project has ever been attempted here, in the south of Slovakia. The entire construction site is over 160 kilometers long. The cost of the construction will be similar to that of a nuclear power plant and will be budgeted over several decades.

"The problem is also that circumstances are not helping us at all," said Jan Giertli when he returned to the large excavation. "What we would need here for the construction would be a nonporous bottom, such as one can find upstream and downstream. However, right here under the excavation of the future electric power works and locks we have almost bottomless gravel and sand deposits." Nothing is permeated better by water than a mixture of gravel and sand, which lack viscosity.

"To secure the bottom of the future water tub below the two projects we had to work for 3 years," said Alfred Lacko. "And the cost has been very high. By drilling holes tens of meters deep we have created an almost nonporous bed consisting of 180,000 cubic meters of self-hardening aggregates. This way we can lay the foundation for our construction up to 33 meters below the level of the underground water."

"This was completely new technology. And in spite of that the people at the Hydroconstruction plant mastered it so well that the seepage of water is many times lower than the specifications permit," said Milan Donoval, evaluating the quality of the work done.

In Gabcikovo right now a plastic model of the project is available. The foundation excavations for the electric power works and locks built from foam polystyrene indicate a gigantic project. Above their banks there are numerous tower cranes with very long jibs. "Are the real ones already on the way here?" I asked, knowing that they must be imported. "We have placed them here because we know that this is a new, progressive technology which will optimize the pouring of huge amounts of concrete," was the answer given to me by Alfred Lacko. During the peak construction period it will be necessary to pour over half a million cubic meters of concrete mixture. This is a lot.

Much water will flow down the Danube before projects such as the 16-km-long and 4-km-wide Hrusov-Dunakiliti reservoir containing 240 million cubic meters of water, or the almost 17-km-long supply canal leading to the water power works, which will be almost 15 meters deep and at its widest point almost 3/4 km wide, will be put into operation. All because here--in some place several kilometers distant from the old river bed--practically all of the Danube water will be diverted. Only after passing the Kaplan turbines, 8 kilometers farther down, will this water return through the diversion canal to its original bed near Palkovice in order to supply energy to the Nagymarous power works in Hungary.

1277

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HUNGARY

BIOGRAPHICAL FACTS ABOUT MINISTER OF INTERIOR ASSISTANT

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jan 85 p 6

[Article by Katalin Borbas: "The Police Lieutenant General"]

[Excerpts] Police Lieutenant General Karoly Ladvanszky, deputy minister of internal affairs and chief of the National Police Department, will be 57 years old in April and in October of last year he had been a policeman for 40 years.

In October 1956 the 28-year old Karoly Ladvanszky was major and chief of the public order defense department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On the evening of 23 October he led a battalion to defend the party center....

Later he was sent at the head of a platoon of police to break up a group on Nap Street. They found themselves faced with one of the best armed, most populous bands of the counterrevolution. They were powerless. They received uncertain promises that help would soon arrive. But the treachery had disarmed many and paralyzed the forces ready to fight. The help could not have come.

But he did not lay down his arms. At dawn on 4 November he was sought out by Gyorgy Soos, the new chief captain for Budapest: "I have heard much good about you, Comrade Ladvanszky. Come, help us, so that there will be police in the capital." He went. The work began in the building on Ferenc Deak Street. On the first day there were two people in the building in addition to Gyorgy Soos and Karoly Ladvanszky--the guard at the gate, who had not taken off his uniform even in the critical days, and a lady typist, who also held out.

8984
CSO: 2500/88

HUNGARY

BIOGRAPHY OF AIR FORCE LIEUTENANT COLONEL

Budapest REPULES in Hungarian Oct 84 p 11

[Interview with Lt Col Gyula Liszkai by SAE: "Raise the Standard!"]

[Excerpts] Since the first of June 1984 the new deputy to the flight chief of the MHSZ [Hungarian Home Defense Sport Federation] has been Lieutenant Colonel Gyula Liszkai. A few months ago he was still a fighter pilot, a fighter pilot who was known and loved by flyers even then as "Liszkas"--as one of them.

[Question] Let us ask something hard. Could you sum up briefly your three decade career as a flyer thus far?

[Answer] I was in the fourth grade when I began to make model planes at the Pioneer club in Szeged. From the time I was twelve I often visited the Algyo airfield. I was sitting on the bank of the ditch one time when Joska Tornyai invited me into the red square and I was able to help pull the planes. When Uncle Karcsi Vinczi came out with the Koma I knew that I would be a flyer. I read and studied everything. I tutored third year gymnasium students in aerodynamics and instrumentation. Even before flight training I had jumped with a parachute. I began flying gliders at Algyo and then at Szentes. I passed the A and B tests at Mester Laci. From then on I flew gliders in the summer; I was admitted to a military secondary school--I wanted to be a fighter pilot. I passed the C test of Algyo, with a Vocsko. I did not give up parachuting either. I jumped from a PO-2 in 1958. I began powered flying with a Yak-18 Furj. In 1959 I went to the Soviet Union, to fighter pilot officers' school, and graduated in 1962 with a red diploma. Returning home I flew a MIG-15 as my "chief occupation" and then on 13 May 1964--13 is my lucky number--I started for the first time with supersonic fighters. I flew above the speed of sound for precisely 20 years. In 1969 I finished the flight command school of the Miklos Zrinyi Military Academy.

In the meantime I won the gold wreath in glider flying--the 300 kilometer distance, and then I flew the goal distance too with an Esztergom--and two diamonds. I entered the I. Alföld Glider Flying Competition for the time in 1970. I have participated in the National Competitions since 1976.

8984
CSO: 2500/88

HUNGARY

PUBLIC VIEWS ON FREE ENTERPRISE UNCERTAIN, CONTRADICTORY

Budapest JELKEP in Hungarian No 3, 1984 pp 149-151

[Article by Katalin Farkas on results of a survey: "Once Again, About Free Enterprise"]

[Text] The survey, conducted in the fall of 1983, was based on repeating a number of questions already formulated in the spring of 1982. After comparison it turned out that public opinion, which has been established in the last one and a half years, has not changed significantly.

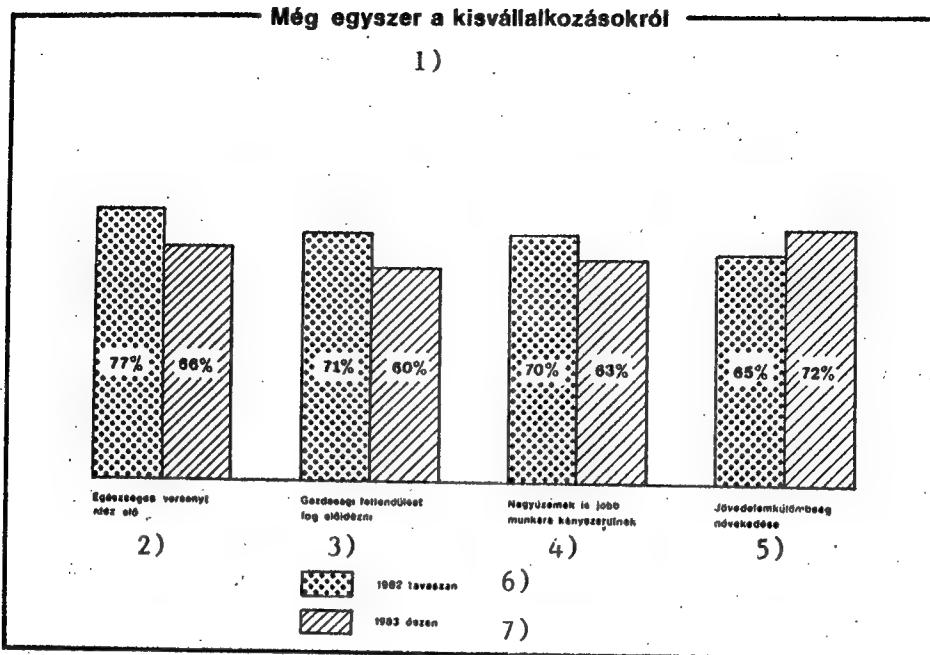
Knowledge concerning licensing a small enterprise and the basic characteristics of the organizational forms has not increased, but the internal structure of this awareness went through a significant transformation. From the spring of 1982 to the fall of 1983, the percentage of those questioned who knew about obtaining permission to open a small business increased slightly (from 85 to 87 percent). Even now only a fraction of those adverted to the new organizational forms and the most significant elements of the regulations. Fewer people than last year identified free enterprise with private taxis and with operating a franchised restaurant or hotel unit. The percentage of people who expressed their opinions, instead of facts, about private enterprise also decreased. In contrast, the percentage of people who could not say anything worthwhile about private enterprise increased from 17 to 26 percent. Thus, in the fall of 1983 35 percent of the adult inhabitants knew practically nothing about this economic form, that is 9 percent more than in the spring of 1983. At the same time among those people who had at least minimal knowledge concerning private enterprise, the percentage of people who could say something concrete about the entrepreneurial possibilities for enterprises and cooperatives increased significantly.

The opinions formulated about private enterprise over one and a half years have also not changed significantly. In the form of statements the percentage of arguments and counterarguments pertaining to private enterprise--acceptance and rejection--hardly fluctuated. Of 19 statements, in only four cases did opinions change, which is great enough to classify as statistically significant. The proportion of people who believed that free enterprise will create healthy

competition in economic life decreased from 77 to 66 percent, those who believed that private enterprise will stimulate an upswing in economic life decreased from 70 to 60 percent, and those who believed that free enterprise will challenge the large enterprises to do a better job, from 70 to 63 percent. At the same time the proportion of people who predicted increases in income differentials rose from 65 to 72 percent.

Despite these changes in "competition" between advantages and disadvantages, advantages won again. Just as in the spring of 1982 the greatest number of people, 89-83 percent agreed that free enterprise opens up opportunities for individual initiative, much faster adjustment to economic changes and provides opportunities for people to use their potential to the full. Most people generally rejected the counterarguments concerning private enterprise. Thus, only 41 percent agreed that only a person who works himself to death can earn a good income from private enterprise; 30 percent, that the entire movement is only good for manipulators to become rich; and 24 percent, that the system of entrepreneurship does not conform with the principles of socialism. At the same time the largest number of those queried felt that private enterprise can only play a supportive role in economic life, and rejected the extreme opinions related to this: that in the future private enterprise will not have any role in economic life, as well as that in the future the whole economy should be based on private enterprise.

Further, great uncertainty prevailed concerning the view whether entrepreneurs will play a permanent or a temporary role in economic life. In the fall of 1983, 49 percent held that the licensing of private enterprises is permanent, and 37 percent considered it a temporary situation. The measure of "entrepreneurial willingness" did not undergo a change either. One fifth of those queried mentioned that they had thought about taking part in a private business.



Key:

1. "Once More About Private Enterprise"
2. Creates healthy competition
3. Will stimulate an upswing in economic life
4. Will pressure large enterprises to do a better job
5. Increases in income differentials
6. Spring, 1982
7. Fall, 1983

12647

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HUNGARY

DEFENSE EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Debrecen HAJDU-BIHARI NAPLO in Hungarian 2 Dec 84 p 13

Article by D.A.: "Active Patriotism, National Defense Education in the Public Schools"/

Text "When we found out that a national defense club started its activities at school, we were very happy and began to attend its meetings," say, cutting in on each other, Istvan Kelemen and Pal Demjan, two eighth-grade pupils of the Arany Janos Public School in Letavertes. "Thirteen of us joined the club, all of us, of course, primarily because of target-shooting practice. We meet every two weeks, often we go out to the range owned by the Hungarian Sport Federation for National Defense to do some firing, we learn how to assemble a machine gun and a rifle, we practice the various formations, and in the winter we make toys modelled after the automatic rocket-launcher, the "Katiusha," out of wood and felt-tip pens."

The schools of Letavertes are considered among those in the county where national defense education is definitely effective. This is the case in the Arany Janos School, as well as in the No 2 school of the community. In addition to the above-mentioned national defense club, both schools also maintain border-guard clubs, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the community, which has been awarded the "Outstanding Border Watch Community" title. This can be attributed primarily to the fact that the two local border-guard posts and the two public schools maintain close contact with each other.

"During September we determine the number of members and set up the program," says the commander of the Letavertes border-guard post. "The children always greatly enjoy listening to any information concerning our work. Of course, our dog demonstrations are the most popular; these are often seen by even the kindergarten children. It is interesting, by the way, that the border guard club of Letavertes has more girls among its members than boys."

"What attracts the children to the meetings of the club?"

"I will tell you what we do: Depending upon what happens around the border, we offer classes, we demonstrate the various types of border-markers and the characteristics of stone-markers. This way, the children can acquire a good knowledge of the terrain. They learn the method of checking documents. They particularly like to work on tracking assignments: Did the intruder come across the border crawling or limping? The children enjoy these tasks so much that, even though practice sessions take place once every two weeks, even during the empty weeks they ask us, "Mister Soldier, will we not have a class this week?" Naturally, not just the members of the club, but the classes of the school, especially the higher grades, organize visits to the border guards.

"Undeniably, we are considering the issue of finding future border guards," the commander continues. "It is a well-known fact that the really good border guards come from among the youth of the border communities."

"Another important consideration," adds Sandor Szatmari, the President of the Letavertes Council, "is to prepare the children for participation in community aid activities. In a border watch community the guarding of the border is not only the responsibility of the border guards but of the entire village. Adults and children alike must be on the alert to notice anything unusual."

Of course, due to the proximity of the border, Letavertes is especially interested in national defense education. Perhaps because of this, it is easier to talk about patriotism, fatherland, and the protection of our borders and our country here. However, there is a great emphasis placed on national defense and patriotic education, not only in this town, and not only in the settlements along the borders, but in every Hungarian public school.

In connection with national defense education, most students and of course teachers immediately think of the events organized for National Defense Day. This is not without reason, because that is the opportunity for the children to demonstrate their preparedness.

Sandor Matyus, a teacher at the Arany Janos School, who is in charge of national defense education says this concerning his institution's National Defense Day:

"That is when we test the stamina and mental preparedness of the students. Running, grenade-throwing, traversing ditches with the aid of a rope, as well as target-shooting and a classroom test appear on the program. National Defense Day will take place on 9 May, Victory Day--this way we provide a political foundation for the event and express our desire for peace.

However, in order to give the youngsters an opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge, a considerable amount of preparatory work is necessary. How could this preparatory work take place? What are the goals of a public school in the area of national defense? We addressed these questions to Gyorgy Szalay, the vice principal of the Arany Janos School: "Whatever we concretely do in the interest of national education," he answered, "cannot be limited to the area of any one school subject; we are talking about multivarious, complex tasks. We must take advantage of the educational possibilities offered by the various subjects. I am thinking here primarily of history and Hungarian literature, but, of course, there are no subjects which would not have some applicability to national defense. Physical education, for example, has become very important for increasing the physical capabilities of the children. The new school year plan places great emphasis on this. The opportunities offered by the class periods spent under the supervision of the homeroom teacher are also significant. I should mention here that in our school every homeroom teacher has an instructor's target-shooting license: They have taken examinations; this is the only way they are permitted to pass their knowledge on to the children. We also know that numerous factors influence the pupils outside the school, too. They receive information from TV, radio, films and naturally the influence exercised by the parents is also strong. Exactly for this reason, the homeroom periods are designed to explain things to the children, so that they can see clearly the issues in their everyday lives. Terms such as patriotism and internationalism must be accurately defined and explained.

"What are the concrete tasks?"

"We start with the following: We endeavor to pass on to our children the love of country and active patriotism. What this concretely means is that one must do something for one's country, one must accept responsibilities. At this time, our students can do this in their area of responsibility: They can study and work. And at this point we must recognize that the tasks of national defense and those of everyday life are in close connection with each other."

12588
CSP: 2500/240

HUNGARY

PUBLIC EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS DISCUSSED WITH MINISTER

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 8 Feb 85 p 9

[Interview with Minister of Culture and Education Bela Kopeczi: "We Took the Discussion Seriously"]

[Text] The problems involving general and high schools, which recently have also been frequently discussed in the press, radio and television, are of great concern not only to educators but also to the general public. We questioned Minister of Culture and Education Bela Kopeczi about his experiences with the debates.

[Question] During the past weeks and months the program for the improvement of public education and the education bill have been the subject of lively debates among the teaching staff in schools and at other platforms. What is your opinion of these, at times sharp but definitely well intentioned debates?

Changes Involving the Bill

[Answer] The debates were useful for three reasons. First: they called attention to the problems which have long been a concern to educators thereby also applying control over the content of the bill. Second: the educators also commented on factual problems, not necessarily viewing them from the standpoint of legal regulation. This laymen's view induced us to examine whether our drafts are correct or rather what has to be changed with respect to the given problems. Third: the sharpness of the opinions also focussed attention on viewing the law as one of the tools of the modernization program to be realized. From this standpoint, I am welcoming the debate because it greatly helped the authors. I must stress that there is need for the legal regulation because the current statutory provision situation is confused, baffling and badly organized which hinders the progress of the modernization program.

[Question] In the post-liberation history of Hungarian public education, this is not the first debate--although none of them had been as comprehensive and

broad as this one--but the educators are often skeptical about their opinion bringing about any change in the central decision. Can the educators hope that this time their proposals will be listened to at the ministry?

[Answer] We revised both the bill and the enacting clause and in many cases we acted on the comments. The professional public will receive information about the kind and manner of the changes. Before the bill gets submitted to parliament it will be debated by the parliamentary committees and, hopefully, the reports of these debates will also provide adequate information. The enacted changes will be reported point by point in the professional publications. I am citing gratuitousness as an example where the law will determine how it should be interpreted. Another example is compulsory education which must be applied from 6 to 16 years of age but it also must be indicated what changes took place in its enforcement. The meaning of sectoral responsibility by the Ministry of Culture and Education and the participation of vocational departments in the guidance of professional instruction was more precisely defined. In higher education, we listed in detail the conditions for institutional independence and the rights of the students and of their organizations. We also considered the wish that we speak not only about instruction but also about nurturing and, therefore, we modified the text. I could go on with examples to show that we took the debates seriously and used them as a basis for changing the bill.

Increased Appreciation for Educators

[Question] Nearly every debate had the central problem of providing the guarantees needed to implement the law. In this context, the inadequate living and working conditions of educators were discussed with special emphasis. What promise can the minister give to present and future educators?

[Answer] The proposals of the Ministry of Culture and Education are summarized in the modernization program which covers 15 to 20 years with respect to defining the conditions. Accordingly, we strived to give priority to classroom construction not only at the general school level but also at the high school level. We are preparing for the Seventh Five Year Plan in which we recommend the construction of about 500 general school and 2,000 to 2,300 high school classrooms. In the interest of an improved educator supply, the rate of admission to teacher's colleges was increased. It is known that beginning on 1 September of last year there was a 10 percent increase in the wages of public school teachers. We know that this did not solve the problems but under the current economic situation of the country this is, nevertheless, an action indicative of the appreciation extended to the educators. We trust--and proposals already exist for it--that further measures will be taken to improve the lot of educators.

Perhaps less apparent to public opinion but, nevertheless, a very important measure was to relieve educators from the administrative burdens placed on them. We hope that local organizations will help us to make this regulation become reality everywhere. Moral appreciation is also being stressed by establishing new prizes, among others. Thereby we want to express even better our appreciation toward educators excelling in the areas of youth and child protection, special education and the writing of textbooks. As of 1 January we have considerably raised the fees for textbook writers whereby, in addition to their greater appreciation, we should also like to urge the authors to achieve higher standards.

Scholarly Teachers

[Question] In several speeches and interviews, you have expressed your intention of re-establishing the scholarly type of teachers you have served as a good example. What possibilities do you see for the realization of this very important decision which would fundamentally impact on the schools and also on the science of the future?

[Answer] The development of the scholarly type of teacher is still a task today although it must also be realized that, in contrast with the past, our high school instruction has become the instruction of masses, and it is well that it happened because we can list it among our democratic achievements. In the past the gymnasium was an elitist school and the status of educators teaching there was also different--not only from a material standpoint. In spite of the changed circumstances every help must be provided to establish this type of educators. We have to grasp at the possibilities hidden in the advanced training of educators. In our view, someone doing scholarly work is also fulfilling his task of advanced education. Our research competition system must be shaped so that an increasing number of practitioners in a given field or of educators doing research work should be included. We trust that with the organization of advanced education, a more direct relationship will develop between public and higher education. We also trust that this in turn will also lead to a more successful selection of the instructor supply for universities and academies of higher learning, and it will also aid the scholarly teachers working in the schools.

I hope that a public opinion will develop which supports the research oriented, initiative filled, experimenting educators. Let me remark that envy, a bureaucratic approach and the wrong interpretation of a search for equality are great hindrances. In my experience, this type of a teacher is not welcomed everywhere. We should want to change this but not by inspiring aristocratic isolation or exclusive research orientation in our teacher-scholars but rather participation in the work of the schools. We are counting on the help of principals and

fellow teachers as well as professors of universities and academies both in the shaping of public opinion and in the selection. There will be no change without individual involvement and readiness to help although it is the quality of our educational system and the enrichment of research activities that are involved.

2473

CSO: 2500/233

HUNGARY

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES IN MILITARY WEAPONS, TECHNICAL GROUP

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 5 Jan 85 pp 8-9

[Article by G. F.: "Changes Increasing Effectiveness"]

[Text] Conference on Unified Weaponry and Technical Services

The leaders and experts of the Weaponry and Technical Group Headquarters of the Hungarian Peoples Armed Forces put a period at the end of a very important section--which serves preparation--of the reorganization process affecting the entire structure of the armed forces, at that two-week combined meeting to which officers dealing with this specialized field were invited down to the unit level. Many years of experiences--supported by experiments--was collected during the course of the preparatory work and it became timely to summarize and exchange it before the system of the combined technical service is introduced.

It was also made possible for the participants to familiarize themselves during the course of the organized technical demonstrations, with the full scale of the technical equipment used regularly in the armed forces. And the presentations and consultations held provided the opportunity for the experts to review the system of their service, repair and material supply which has been placed on new foundations. At the conclusion of the combined meeting judged useful from all viewpoints, lieutenant general engineer Sandor Kiss, Weaponry and Technical Group Chief of the Hungarian Armed Forces and deputy minister summarized the experiences of the several years of preparatory work and the two-week conference.

Important Turning Point

The system the armed forces has been using so far to operate, service and repair its weaponry, motor vehicles and other technical equipment and to supply materials for it can look back on a past of two decades. Time has

past over its operation by now--even in spite of the many useful experiences and successful activites. The very rapid growth which has taken place in military technology, the use of more and more complicated equipment and modernization of management have all made it justified for the weaponry and technical areas to also keep in step with the changes. While the military technology equipment became more complicated, it became increasingly obvious that identical features in the equipment have increased, that structural and technical standardization has taken place. This extended over to the weaponry, the carriers, the communication equipment as well as other component units. These facts required that a joint organization be formed also to become familiar with them, repair them and to supply them with materials. It had to be recognized that the growth process could not be followed by the traditional system and that beyond a certain point the overlaps which developed could become hinderances to further progress. The parallels, the various uneconomical characteristics also surfaced during the course of furnishing the material and objective conditions--which have also changed quantitatively and qualitatively. All these suggested that the capacities be combined, as development of the only possible solution.

With New Content

Creation of the unified weaponry and technical service cannot be considered simply a task of merging them into one. We are talking about a system which is new in its quality, and becoming fully familiar with it and understanding it must mean the development of a modern concept, changes in the volitional characteristics of the people who come into contact with it, willingness to handle the extra work which necessarily exists with the handling of tasks of great significance. It is no easy task to give up practices one has become accustomed to for decades. The regulating force of a command issued is only one of the components of the work which will also have to be continued in the future for winning over the people, convincing them and increasing their willingness to accept sacrifices.

In the creation of the unified weaponry and technical services the main role continues to belong to those who use the technical equipment. This relationship has not changed. Representing and implementing their interests will be the decisive question in the future as well. It is also in the interest of the service personnel that the users of technical equipment learn more and more about the equipment they use, familiarize themselves with every aspect of their potential and also know the possible limitations of use. Training the drivers of the various vehicles and battle equipment--which is the task of the technical service--provides the opportunity, for example, to implement some of the assigned goals.

Coordinating the new regulations which continuously follow the basic measures is a time-consuming job. Its most important condition is to develop unified control which began with creating top-level integration and continues with the troupe-level integrations. Thus in the near future the troops will have the big job before them: they must gradually expand this multi-stage process, establish harmony between the organization which has been created and its operation. The guidelines issued assure good conditions for this work.

Some Features

The weaponry and technical organs and the persons responsible for the specialty areas, which in the past were supervised through different supervisory channels, will from now on handle jointly their areas of providing this technology and will bear joint responsibility for their activities. Also, the weaponry and technical chiefs will with single-person responsibility combine, plan, lead and guide the work of the unified specialty areas. This is a way to eliminate those differences which had become hindrances against utilizing the existing capacities.

The new regulators must also cover such detailed questions as, for example, the development of a standardized traffic system. Even though some expressions used in the weaponry, motor vehicle or chemical defense areas covered the same meaning, the technological processes carried out on the basis of their interpretation were far from identical. For example, the experts of one area understood different things by operation, service or breaking-in than did those of another area.

It is an important principle of operating the combined technical service that always only the necessary work be done. Unnecessary overlapping and unjustified multiple activity must be avoided. The complex concept does not tolerate any kind of grouping or classification of the technical equipment, keeping lists as "main" or "secondary" technology. From the viewpoint of a given unit's battle readiness or battle availability the implementation of one single question is decisive: is the equipment battle ready or not? It is in the interest of all of us that every piece of equipment be battle ready.

Further development of the process of standardization is an everyday job. One can find in this system of tasks items beginning with the question of standardized assurance of troop manpower through clearing up the profiles of material supply and comprehensive mechanized data processing to systematized cadre and manning conditions and many other important issues which are conditions for efficient operation. The successful and expeditious work done so far provides good foundations for the new system which guarantees work with an even better degree of efficiency to be able to expand in the coming years.

8584

CSO: 2500/213

POLAND

MOSCOW, WARSAW EXCHANGE MESSAGES ON ANNIVERSARY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Jan 85 pp 1, 8

[Messages exchanged between Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PRL Council of Ministers, and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the PRL Council of State; and the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PRL and the USSR]

[Text] Dear Comrades: Forty years ago, on 4 January 1945, diplomatic relations between the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic, which represented a new, Polish people's state, and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were established. This important act opened up a new phase of Polish-Soviet relations and created the basis for the Agreement on Friendship and Post-War Cooperation between Poland and the USSR, which was entered into several months later.

On this occasion and in the name of the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State and the PRL Council of Ministers, and in the name of the people of Poland, we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, all Soviet communists and the Soviet nation, our most sincere greetings and best wishes.

On the day that Poland and the Soviet Union established official diplomatic relations, the war was still going on and the heroic Soviet Army was in the process of liberating Polish territories from Hitler's occupation. The Polish People's Army, created with the fraternal help of the USSR, fought together with the Soviet Army. It ended its battle route in Berlin by making its contribution to the joint victory over fascism.

Owing to this victory, Poland was reborn as an independent and sovereign people's state within new and just borders. The consistent defense of Poland's interests by the USSR at the conferences in Yalta and in Potsdam enabled the Polish nation to regain its old western and northern territories. It [USSR's defense] also contributed to the building of Poland's strong position in Europe.

The past 40 years have confirmed in full the validity and the vitality of the principles upon which the Polish-Soviet alliance is founded. Their infrangible foundation is the ideological, internationalistic unity of our Marxist-Leninist parties, the common goals of socialist and communist development and the unity of our nations' interests in the struggle for peace and safety in Europe and in the world. Friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union are indispensable guarantees of Poland's independence and of the safety and infrangibility of its borders.

In the current situation, when the forces of imperialism, especially those of the United States, are trying to gain military dominance over socialist nations--something which directly threatens world peace and causes the animation of revisionist and revanchist forces in the FRG--the fact that the Polish-Soviet alliance as well as the power and unity of the entire union of socialist states constitute an effective barrier against all attempts of undermining the territorial-political realities in Europe takes on particular significance for Poland.

Poland cooperates actively with the USSR and with other allied socialist states in efforts aimed at preventing nuclear war. We fully support Soviet peace initiatives. We stand jointly for a return to detente, for a stop to the arms race and for disarmament. We oppose all manifestations and attempts at aggression as well as policies made from a position of power and we contribute to the implementation of Leninist principles of the peaceful coexistence of nations with different social systems. We shall persist in our efforts on behalf of strengthening the Polish-Soviet arms alliance and our political-defense alliance--the Warsaw Pact.

The strength of the Polish-Soviet alliance was confirmed with particular force during the last period, which was particularly difficult for Poland.

Soviet economic assistance and support in the international arena effectively promote our activity aimed at overcoming existing difficulties and at assuring Poland conditions for the successful implementation of the program of socialist development.

Current Polish-Soviet relations are characterized by comprehensive and dynamic development. Political cooperation is being strengthened and is expanding. Mutual economic and scientific-technical relations, which are being developed both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of CEMA, are increasingly gaining in scope. The long-term Program of Polish-Soviet Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation up to the year 2000, which was signed in May of last year in Moscow, has an important meaning. Our contact in the field of science and culture is increasing.

Alliance and friendship between Poland and the USSR, whose legal foundations were laid 40 years ago, are and will remain an unyielding cornerstone of Polish foreign policy.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Polish people's state and the Soviet Union, we wish to express our deep conviction that the friendly, allied bonds which bind the Polish People's Republic and the USSR will continue to grow favorably and comprehensively in the interest of our parties, states and people and in the interest of the entire socialist commonwealth and that of peace and progress in Europe and in the world.

We wish you, dear comrades and the entire allied Soviet nation, good fortune and continued success in communist development.

[Signed] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the PRL Council of State.

* * *

Dear Comrades: On the occasion of an important event--the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic--we send you, the entire allied Polish nation, our sincere greetings.

This important decision marked a historical turn in relations between our countries and was concordant with the fundamental interests of the Soviet and Polish nations. The establishment of genuinely friendly relations between the USSR and Poland became possible owing to the decisive choice of the Polish working people in favor of socialism and was the logical outcome of the joint battle of the Soviet and Polish armies and of all Polish patriots against the Hitlerite invaders. The Soviet Union consistently declared itself in favor of the rebirth of Poland as an independent, democratic state within just borders in all phases of political battle on the international arena.

The past 40 years have been a period of active development of all-inclusive cooperation and friendship between our parties, our nations and our people. In this manner, we were always linked by the bond of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the unity of political goals. The vital interests of our allied nations are undeniably guaranteed by the Pact of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the PRL and by membership in the great union of socialist states. Agreements reached at the summit level, whose implementation we consider a primary task, create broad perspectives for further development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the PRL.

Under conditions of a complex and tense international situation, the USSR and the PRL together with other socialist countries are waging an active battle against the threat of nuclear war and for the strengthening of peace in Europe and in the entire world. Their joint actions are a certain barrier against all forms of revisionist attempts at revising or even overriding the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and against disturbing

the territorial-political order in Europe which has been formed as a result of World War II. The Warsaw Pact and the unity and cohesion of socialist states are an infallible guarantee of the safety of the nations of the entire socialist commonwealth and of the infrangibility and constancy of their borders.

We express our profound conviction that our close cooperation will continue to serve the interests of our allied nations, the socialist cause and world peace.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR Council of Ministers. January 1985.

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CSO: 2600/604

POLAND

COVERAGE OF TORUN TRIAL INCREASINGLY CENSORED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 4, 27 Jan 85 pp 5-6, 7

[Abridged Report by Jacek Ambroziak, reporter from the Press Office of the Polish Episcopate; part III]

[Text] 7 January 1985; Sixth Day of the Trial

Contradictory Statements

The court disclosed the statements made by the defendant Chmielewski during the inquiry in which he described the conversations that took place between Piotrowski, Pekala and him regarding the disappearance of Father Popieluszko. The purpose of this was to stir up confusion within the opposition. The kidnaping was approved, Piotrowski told him, but at the time he did not give the names of these persons.

Defendant Chmielewski: I concur that no names were given when the approval of superiors was discussed. Piotrowski spoke only of the approval of superiors. In the latter stages, some names were mentioned, but then there was only a suggestion from a superior whether it would not be possible to detain Father Popieluszko somewhere. I confirm this part of the statement. It is true that defendant Piotrowski instructed us to consider where the priest could be held for 2 or 3 days. We considered using a barracks or some apartment, but we did not have any available. At the same time, Piotrowski said that we had the approval of superiors for such a kidnaping, but he gave no names.

The court disclosed another fragment from the statements made by defendant Chmielewski in which he stated that sometime at the end of September or beginning of October 1984, Piotrowski spoke with Chmielewski and Pekala and considered whether something should be done with Father Popieluszko. They considered causing embarrassment, either by compromising him or by frightening him, in order to diminish his credibility in the circle of former Solidarity members. According to Chmielewski, there were several such discussions. They concluded that Father Popieluszko should be detained, hidden or abandoned in a forest. At the same time, Piotrowski instructed Chmielewski and Pekala to find an appropriate location for such an action. He added that, regarding ways to harass Popieluszko, they considered isolating him or getting him drunk and abandoning him in order to compromise him.

Defendant Chmielewski: I confirm these statements. There was no discussion of murdering Father Popieluszko. The only thing that was discussed was what will happen if the priest dies.

In conjunction with this, the court read other portions of defendant Chmielewski's statement in which he said that Piotrowski told him and Pekala that they had the approval of their direct superiors, even the assent of the head office. He also stated that it was recorded on tape. But at that time he showed them no documents, nor did they ask him to show them any. They trusted their boss. The matter was confidential and, as Piotrowski suggested, they were not to say anything to anyone about this.

Defendant Chmielewski: Piotrowski called us into his office and there, on his own initiative, he reported certain events and conversations he was to have had with the head officials.

Judge: And these conversations demonstrated that there was approval for the kidnaping of Father Popieluszko.

Chmielewski: That is so.

Judge: Was the idea of burying Father Popieluszko up to his neck brought up and when was it brought up?

Chmielewski: I fabricated this idea during the investigation. But my boss suggested the possibility of digging a pit in the forest, binding the priest, covering the pit with branches and scaring him into believing he would stay there.

The court disclosed another portion of Chmielewski's statement in which he said that shovels had been purchased in conjunction with the idea of burying Father Popieluszko up to his neck.

Chmielewski: I confirm what I said earlier. That was my fabrication.

Judge: Since it was your [plural] idea to kidnap Father Popieluszko for several days, did you have enough food set aside for him?

Chmielewski: No, because we dropped that idea.

Judge: But you had rocks ready in case he was to be buried or intimidated. It seems logical that you would have food prepared.

Chmielewski: While we did have the idea of kidnaping the priest and holding him for several days, we had not prepared any provisions.

The court disclosed another portion of Chmielewski's statement in which he stated that Piotrowski informed him and Pekala that the time was right for taking action against Father Popieluszko--kidnaping or murdering him--and he asked them whether they would agree to do this.

Chmielewski: I confirm these statements. Our boss clearly stated this. He said that he could even beat the priest. We simply consented to take part in this action.

The court continued to read the defendant's statement in which he explained in reply to a question put to him by the person conducting the investigation that during the trip to Bydgoszcz they took into consideration the fact that Popieluszko could die. They concluded that in this case, he should be thrown into the water. Rocks and sacks were prepared for this purpose. They also considered this possibility during a trip to Gdansk. In the context of this discussion, Piotrowski said that he would go to the higher-ups to clear this matter of the action's turning out badly for Father Popieluszko. He went out for this purpose several times. Then he returned and said that the approval of the superiors had been granted for this. He did not know whether these conversations with the superiors really had taken place, but Piotrowski gave the impression that they had.

Chmielewski at the trial: Yes, I confirm that. I already stated before the court that we anticipated that Father Popieluszko could die.

Judge: What does we anticipated that Father Popieluszko could die mean? From what actions could death result?

Chmielewski: It was not to be the result of any actions. During our conversations, the boss said that in case something happened to the priest, in case he died of a heart attack. We only took this type of statement into account. I did not anticipate any other possibility of bringing about his death, since we foresaw only this possibility, [---] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, art 2 point 1 (DZ U [DZIENNIK USTAW] No 20 item 99, revised in 1983, DZ U No 44 item 204)].

Judge: Is it in this context that the defendant spoke of the bridge in Modlina?

Chmielewski: Yes.

The court continued to disclose the statements made by defendant Chmielewski during the investigation. He said that during the trip to Bydgoszcz, they discussed several subjects. There was the discussion of the so-called train variant, i.e., what they would do if Father Popieluszko returned by train. At that time they decided that if the priest returned by train, then he would go with Piotrowski by train and Pekala would go by car to Warsaw and would stand before the Railway Station. Chmielewski and Piotrowski were to lead Father Popieluszko out of the train and take him to the car. Piotrowski apparently also said that if there were an opportunity, for example, if Father Popieluszko went to the restroom, he could be forced out of the train.

Chmielewski: If my memory serves me correctly, I said before the court that there was this idea, but that on 19 October this discussion did not take place. I deny this categorically. However, I made such statements out of my own good will.

The court continued to disclose the statements made by defendant Chmielewski during the investigation in which he said that he was interested in the person of Father Popieluszko by dint of his official duties. Thus, when his boss Piotrowski asked whether he would take part in this action against Father Popieluszko, he consented, this being in his interest. Moreover, as he had stated previously, he did not wish to refuse his superior, even though this was merely a request and not an order or command. But, as he had stated, he did not have the habit of refusing his superiors. The matter at hand was the kidnaping and intimidation of Father Popieluszko. Piotrowski told him that he had the approval of his [Piotrowski's] superior, Adam Pietruszka. This was clear from many facts. He said then that he did not know whether this had been initiated by Piotrowski or by Adam Pietruszka, but he could not imagine that it could have been initiated by Piotrowski alone. He also explained then that there was a discussion between them (i.e., Piotrowski, Chmielewski and Pekala) about what would happen if Father Popieluszko died. Chmielewski explained during the investigation that Piotrowski then phoned Pietruszka, but did not reach him. Then Piotrowski went out to see Pietruszka many times and told them that he was going to the head officials, for Pietruszka was his direct superior. Next Piotrowski stated that everything is fine, which he took to mean that Piotrowski had gotten Pietruszka's approval. But this was his own conjecture, since he was not present directly during the conversation between Piotrowski and Pietruszka. Furthermore, every discussion that Piotrowski reported to him told him that Pietruszka had been informed about all these actions. [----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, art 2 point 1 (DZ U No 20 item 99, revised in 1983, DZ U No 44 item 204)]. He also explained that the facts--receiving a "W" pass, the telephone calls to Pietruszka and the trip to Pekala--indicated clearly that Pietruszka knew about their trip.

Defendant Chmielewski at the trial: That is so. I confirm these statements in their entirety. I add to them that, when speaking of my boss Piotrowski's direct superior, I had in mind defendant Pietruszka.

The court again disclosed other statements of defendant Chmielewski made during the investigation, regarding conversations that preceded the trip to Bydgoszcz. He, Piotrowski and Pekala took part in these conversations. They discussed harassing Father Popieluszko. At that time, a discussion took place about the possibility of Father Popieluszko's death; other forms of harassment of the priest possibly leading to his death were not excluded. At that time, he understood "forms of harassment" to mean the bunker issue, burying him up to his neck, tying him to a tree, getting him drunk and abandoning him. In all these variants, however, it was assumed that Popieluszko would be let go. But it was a different story with the car accident on the return from Gdansk. He expected that Father Popieluszko would either die in such an accident or would suffer serious bodily injuries and he gave his consent. He then said that he did not know why he agreed to this death, but he expected subconsciously that this would never happen or that the accident would not take place.

Chmielewski at the trial: Putting it plainly, I was aware and I do not know now how to explain this. When the interrogator presented me with the picture that the car could crash into another vehicle, I realized that this could have been a collision with tragic consequences. However, I did not envisage that possibility. The portion read to me concerns an accident on 13 October 1984. At the time that I acted I did not realize that there could be such consequences, but when I made my statements at the investigation, the questioner made me aware of the possibility of such consequences. When these events took place, the road was clear and no crash was anticipated.

The court returned again to the disclosure of the statements of the defendant Chmielewski from the investigation and disclosed those statements in which he said that the idea of the possible death of Father Popieluszko was taken into consideration. Then the matter of throwing the body into the water was considered. Rocks were collected to weigh down the corpse. Before the trip to Bydgoszcz plans were made to stun the driver. This could cause death and the need to dispose of a second body arose. Thus, they had two sacks and rocks. These plans were acted upon before the trip to Bydgoszcz, for they intended to strike the driver.

Judge: In these statements, the defendant again speaks not only of the possibility of the death of Father Popieluszko, but also the possibility of the death of the driver and thus he speaks of those sacks, two sacks and rocks.

Chmielewski: I would like to explain that it is a fact that Piotrowski made an attempt to strike the driver, who was to have been sitting up front. On this basis and believing that the priest had lost his life by being struck, I concluded that the same thing had happened to Chrostowski. Even before Wloclawek I thought that the priest had died as a result of being clubbed and during the investigation, on the basis of these premises, I concluded that the same thing had happened to Chrostowski.

After a recess, the chairman of the trial informed that on 28 December 1984, attorneys Grabinski and Olszewski suggested the possibility of using tape recordings of the trial proceedings, since Polish Radio and television are able to do this. If this were impossible, they requested that an admittance card be issued to a shorthand typist to assist the private prosecutors. The chairman stated that such permission had been granted. Now, however, after having familiarized himself with the notes taken by the shorthand typist sent in by the auxiliary prosecutors, he has discovered that they are not a shorthand report but only another record, i.e., he has been led astray. In conjunction with this, he sees no reason for Ms. Krystyna Iwaszkiewicz to act as a second clerk of the court in addition to the official one. Moreover, he stated that the entire trial is recorded on tape and the corresponding transcription will be made from this. In addition, the trial is being recorded and the record will be made available to both sides. In conjunction with this, he rescinds the order allowing Ms. Krystyna Iwaszkiewicz to take notes and asks her to leave the room. At the same time, in response to a motion made by the defendant, he has not had time or the opportunity to speak with the Polish Television technical service, but after such a conversation he will issue the appropriate orders regarding this matter.

Here attorney Olszewski rose and asked that he be given a copy of the court's records prior to the conclusion of the trial and requested that this be kept as current as possible.

Prosecuting attorney: The defendant does not acknowledge having used any special forms of torment. In the opinion of the defendant, what elements constitute special forms of torment?

Chmielewski: In my opinion, this means crippling someone with sharp weapons or something of that sort.

Prosecutor: Were there no such elements of torment?

Chmielewski: It may be said that there were some elements of special torment. I admit that I did not consider the gagging to be a special form of torment. Nor may we call handcuffing someone a special form of torment. After all, I too am handcuffed. It is only a means of rendering someone defenseless. Beating someone is torment; intimidation with the use of a pistol is also torment.

Prosecutor: Does the defendant continue to maintain that he does not admit to having used any special form of torment?

Chmielewski: Not even once did I strike, gag or directly bind anyone. I had no pistol in my hand. I admit to the kidnaping, but not to any special form of torment.

Prosecutor: Did the defendant know anything about Father Popieluszko's trip abroad?

Chmielewski: I heard that Father Popieluszko was to go on scholarship to Rome. That was the talk. But I did not know when he was scheduled to leave.

Prosecutor: What was the purpose of the deed then, when it was known that the priest was going away? Against whom was it directed?

Chmielewski: It was aimed at creating confusion in the Solidarity underground community. That was the plan.

Prosecutor: Then it was not the priest, but the community?

Chmielewski: The purpose was to get him to cease his activities.

Prosecutor: The defendant speaks of fear. Is he afraid now, today? What does he fear?

Chmielewski: It is the mental fear of imprisonment.

Prosecutor: And when the defendant perpetrated these criminal acts was he afraid?

Chmielewski: Yes, but Piotrowski always reassured us. He said that there is no need to be afraid. We understood this to mean that our impunity was guaranteed, that we would go unpunished.

Attorney Grabinski: Has the defendant graduated from any other academic institution?

Chmielewski: Yes. I graduated from the Academy of Internal Affairs, taking correspondence courses.

Attorney Grabinski: The defendant admitted that Father Popieluszko could die of a heart attack. Did the defendant withdraw this idea at any point?

Chmielewski: It was merely a statement and a somewhat rhetorical question. It was not an idea that was developed extensively.

Attorney Grabinski: Was anything done to prevent Father Popieluszko from dying?

Chmielewski: I do not recall.

Attorney Grabinski: Does the defendant see any difference between death as a result of strangulation and death from a heart attack caused by fright?

Chmielewski: There is a basic difference.

Attorney Olszewski: According to the defendant, the purpose of the act was to disorient the Solidarity community. What does disorient mean? What constitutes disorientation?

Chmielewski: It means ushering in an atmosphere of uncertainty, an atmosphere of distrust for a clergyman that uses a place where a cult is practiced for political activity.

Attorney Olszewski: What would be the basis of this confusion if Father Popieluszko had merely been kidnaped and released?

Chmielewski: I understood it this way. A person of great importance in such a community disappears for 2 or 3 days. Then he is found. It is not known where and how. He is not able to explain what happened to him. He begins to lack credibility among his community.

Attorney Olszewski: In the real situation, the situation as it actually occurred, where the driver either is released or, as in this case, flees on his own, the matter is explained via the statement that the priest was kidnaped by unknown persons wearing militia uniforms. In light of this, whom was this deed supposed to confuse? Did it also not serve to disorient the apparatus of the authorities at times?

Chmielewski: We were anxious to obtain information on underground structures. No other matters were discussed. Then we could have disseminated this information, saying that a priest gave it to us.

Attorney Olszewski: Knowing Father Popieluszko, did the defendant believe that the priest would give this out voluntarily?

Chmielewski: Since he did not disclose it during the criminal proceeding, our actions were aimed in that direction.

Attorney Olszewski: I want to know whether the defendant was aware that these were crimes.

Chmielewski: Yes, I knew that it was a crime.

Attorney Olszewski: The defendant stated that when he saw what was happening to Father Popieluszko, he lost confidence in his superior. How is it possible that the defendant, who already knew these instructions to be an obvious crime, had full confidence in him at that time?

Chmielewski: I was aware at the time that in spite of its illegality, this deed was approved.

Attorney Olszewski: Are we to understand that the defendant assesses the illegality of an act on the basis of the orders of superiors or on the awareness that this was a crime?

Chmielewski: This is a double-edged question with a single categorical answer.

Chairman: The defendant may refuse to make a statement if he does not know how to answer this question.

Chmielewski: I refuse to answer this question.

Attorney Olszewski: Then I have no further questions for the defendant.

Attorney Graczyk, counsel for defendant Pekala: Did either of you, the defendant or Pekala, venture to question the orders issued by your boss or refuse to carry out these orders? Did you question the actions he planned? I refer to instructions to carry out legal actions.

Chmielewski: Never.

Attorney Marczuk: Was the defendant afraid that he would share the fate of Father Popieluszko and with whom did he associate this?

Chmielewski: I associated this with the person of my chief Piotrowski, attributing this to the situation of the entire event. I said during the investigation that I feared, I was afraid that Piotrowski or Pietruszka might do something against me.

Upon a motion made by attorney Marczuk, the court read a portion of the statements from the investigation in which, in response to a question on the motives of his actions, Chmielewski explained that he was afraid of Piotrowski and his boss Pietruszka, that if he did not take part in the murder, the same thing would happen to him as was happening to Father Popieluszko.

Attorney Marczuk: Why was the defendant so afraid of director Pietruszka?

Chmielewski: I was afraid of everything at that time. I was even afraid of Pekala; I was afraid during the entire occurrence.

Judge: Those took part in it, but Pietruszka did not take part directly. Therefore, why did the defendant fear him?

Chmielewski: By association. Piotrowski said that Pietruszka knew about the entire project and that is why I feared Pietruszka.

Following Chmielewski's statements, the chairman turned to defendant Grzegorz Piotrowski, asking him to rise and give his statement. Defendant Piotrowski requested a recess until the following day.

Chairman: There are only two questions: Did the defendant understand the charges in the bill of indictment?

Piotrowski: Yes, I understood the charges.

Chairman: Does the defendant admit to the first charge?

Defendant Piotrowski: No, I do not admit to any of the charges. I would like to evaluate them together, since the conjunctions resulting from these charges are not logical, which does not preclude my admitting to some parts of these charges. With regard to the first charge, I admit that, on the night of 20 October 1984, in Gorski, Torun Province, acting jointly and by agreement, I deceived Father Popieluszko, who was traveling in a Volkswagen-Golf automobile, into stopping, then I rendered him unconsciousness by beating him with my fists and a club, I gagged him, I tied his hands with rope, I put him in the trunk of a Fiat 125p automobile and I drove along the highway toward Wloclawek. Along the way, when Jerzy Popieluszko attempted to free himself, I rendered him unconsciousness with several blows of my fists, finally reaching the dam in the Wloclawek area and throwing his body into the water. Moreover, I would like to add that in the course of these actions, I committed several criminal acts, of which there are many, since thinking about committing these acts is probably also a crime.

With regard to the second charge, I admit that, on the night of 20 October 1984, in Gorski, Torun Province, acting jointly and by agreement, I deceived Waldemar Chrostowski, the driver of a Volkswagen-Golf automobile, into stopping, I gagged him, handcuffed him and, according to the plan for dividing up duties, I kidnaped him with the Fiat 125p automobile in order to lock him up briefly. However, I did not perform the planned action, since Waldemar Chrostowski jumped out of the car at Przysiek and ran away, i.e., I did not lock him up for this brief period.

With regard to the third charge, I admit that, on the day of 13 October 1984, on the Ostroda-Olsztynek highway in the Olsztyn Province, I took part in an attempt, organized according to the plan for dividing up duties, to stop the Volkswagen-Golf automobile in which Jerzy Popieluszko, Waldemar Chrostowski

and Seweryn Jaworski, but I abandoned the planned action.

The court decided to order a recess until 8 January at 9 am.

8 January 1985; Seventh Day of the Trial

Defendant Piotrowski: After graduating from the liberal arts high school in Lodz, I entered Lodz University to study math. In my last year, I began teaching due to financial difficulties. Then, after completing my studies, I continued to work as a teacher in the economics high school, after which I went into the military service. After completing my stint of military service, I went back into teaching. On 16 September 1975, I began to serve in the Provincial Command of the Lodz Citizens' Militia. In 1981, I was officially transferred to Warsaw to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In Lodz, I had advanced to the position of deputy chief of a department. In Warsaw I also was deputy chief of a department, but this represented a promotion of one level up, since I began working in control organs. Later I became chief of another department. Following this, I returned to my former department as its chief.

Chmielewski and Pekala were my subordinates. My direct substantive superior was Adam Pietruszka, who supervised the work of my department.

Before I go on to a description of events, I would like to explain my motivation, which was discussed in the bill of indictment. I am speaking of the assessment of the so-called political picture of my second side, which was presented in the bill of indictment in a manner that was extremely painful to me. The bill of indictment speaks of my having aided persons that were known for their activity inimical to People's Poland and of my ties with persons living abroad. There is also the statement, High Court, indeed the very rough delineation of my allegedly having been pressured by the West. All this emanates from the fact that, at the request of a fairly high-level official of a certain high office of ministry rank, I gave assistance in settling passport matters. I would like to declare that, at the request of this official, I really did give my assistance and get him a passport, but this was done very often, since this was the normal operating procedure of our department, and I settled hundreds of such emergency situations and similar cases of passport intervention. I was simply implementing the request of an institution with which we worked continually; I did this within the scope of my official duties.

The bill of indictment also states that Piotrowski attempted to embark upon actions to prevent Jerzy Popieluszko from continuing his work. There is also the statement that Piotrowski engendered hate toward Popieluszko and was ready to take all sorts of violent actions against him. The bill of indictment suggests that I acted out of political motives and that I acted in the interest of the state. I did not use these words--that I acted from political motives, nor did I say that I acted in the interest of the state. My political assessment of this event is unequivocal, that although the deed was not planned, it became the cause of provocation. Moreover, I wrote a letter to the appropriate authorities that should be included in court documents.

Specifically, my frustration is spoken of, but there really was no frustration. My attitude to Popieluszko as the man was indifferent and cold. My attitude to him as a priest did not interest me. I was aware that what Popieluszko was doing exceeded his potential. At one time he was a quite average priest. My task was connected with his activities that were under the control of the Warsaw Office of Internal Affairs and, in conjunction with this, came under my departmental supervision. [---] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, art 2 point 1 (DZ U No 20 item 99, revised in 1983, DZ U No 44 item 204)].

I must admit that when I saw that all forms of work were frustrated and that observations on his activities submitted to the Curia received no response, for there was no response to our observations regarding his activities [---] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, art 2 point 1 (DZ U No 20 item 99, revised in 1983, DZ U No 44 item 204)], and the matter of the trip to Rome, for example, was outright fiction, for Popieluszko himself said, as I very well know, that if the Primate comes to him and requests it, he will go to Rome. That is why I decided to take illegal action against him and I took it. I was guided by the principle that the lesser evil is necessary for warding off the greater evil. I also would like to state that I was an unsullied man, that I lived with the penal code at hand, but that neither I nor Pekala nor Chmielewski would be sitting on the defendant's bench if the law were also the law for Popieluszko.

The documents pertaining to the case include my statement that says that in May 1983, we could have thwarted his activity. We had reports on his work. We could have caught him with a ton of illegal publications. [---] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, art 2 point 1 (DZ U No 20 item 99, revised in 1983, DZ U No 44 item 204)]. In December 1983, the generally known situation occurred, when Popieluszko spent the night under arrest, but was released at the request of the Warsaw Curia. He was to be supervised and transferred to another parish. The church, however, believed the statements that security had planted published materials and the like as evidence to be true. Then came the amnesty and the discontinuance of the investigation, despite which Popieluszko went on with his activities. We could only look on at this. We did not grow to hate him, but we could only look on at this helplessly.

September arrived. It was not yet the 25th of September. During this period, the chief of the Warsaw Office of Internal Affairs Leszek W. came to me and told me that he had been called in to see Adam Pietruszka, the director, which I was unaware of previously. Perhaps I then telephoned Adam Pietruszka and told him that Leszek W. was in my office. Adam Pietruszka called me and Leszek W. in to see him. He received us in the office of General P. The custom was that when the chief was not present, the first deputy, who was Adam Pietruszka, moved to the director's office, since it had more phones and greater communications possibilities, and he then worked out of this office. W. reported on the activities of Father Popieluszko and Father Malkowski following their amnesty. Following this report, Adam Pietruszka said, very excitedly, that he had had enough of this game with Popieluszko and Malkowski. Decisive action had to be taken. They had to be given a shock, just severe enough so that

they would not have a heart attack. That is more or less what he said. We will give them their final warning.

Adam Pietruszka designated Father Malkowski to be first. He said that it would be best if someone assaulted Father Malkowski and beat him, and it would be ideal if, after a few minutes, the militia found some thugs. I said that if we were to take such action, the order should be reversed, since I knew from being familiar with these men, Popieluszko and Malkowski, that Malkowski's bark was bigger than his bite and that Popieluszko was the more important one. Malkowski was practically alone, while Popieluszko usually was attended by bodyguards. Thus, if we attacked Malkowski, Popieluszko would increase his protection and would be immune to our attacks. We all agreed to this plan. We discovered that we knew a great deal about Popieluszko and his activities, but that we did not know his daily schedule. As Pietruszka suggested, we were to submit a plan of actions embarked upon regarding this matter. [----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, art 2 point 1 (DZ U No 20 item 99, revised in 1983, DZ U No 44 item 204)].

Leszek W. and I returned to my office where we determined only that W., to whom these orders were addressed, practically speaking, since I was his supervisor, would receive every possible form of assistance from me. I told Leszek W. that I would lend him a car, that I would facilitate means of communication for him and the like. The Warsaw Office of Internal Affairs was equipped worse than the ministry. Sometimes the employees of the Warsaw office used their own cars for various projects. In conjunction with this, I offered my help in spying activities on Popieluszko. Until that time we had been involved in issues of considerable importance, but we had not been involved in spying. During this initial conversation, when the question arose of how we were to do this, I said that if we were thinking about harassing Popieluszko, we had to have him at our disposal. Adam Pietruszka said: Fine, comrades, think about this. Then W. began to implement his task, but no other progress was made.

On 25 September, according to plan, Leszek W. was summoned to the office of General P. for the purpose of presenting the post-amnesty situation and a group of five Warsaw priests in violation of the law. First he came to my office and then, according to the usual procedure, we went upstairs together. Leszek W., General P., Pietruszka and I were present. Then from the mouth of Pietruszka came the statement that in the case of Popieluszko, there were no prospects for the future. He also said that W. was dragging his feet. W. answered that he was making plans, but that he was having trouble with cadres, with equipment and with his chiefs. Pietruszka said: it is not up to you to plan, but to act.

W. and I went downstairs to my office where we concretized our plans, establishing how we viewed things so that later we could report to Adam Pietruszka. I said that I saw only the possibility of getting Popieluszko into my hands in order to harass him. W. was somewhat inclined in this direction, but he continued to tell me about his problems: he did not have the people, he did not have the opportunity and the like. I do not recall when Adam Pietruszka used these words in response to W.'s arguments (for W. used these objective difficulties as his justification) and he said that he, too, had his superiors

to whom he had to turn for the use of cars and walkie-talkies, and they ask him what he wants them for. Then Pietruszka said he should not bother his superiors. The less they know, the fewer headaches they have. More than once I was called in and asked how these matters were getting on. I was responsible in a supervisory sense, so I tried to justify W. in any way I could. I equivocated and I actually had nothing to tell.

Yet another event occurred during the course of these conversations. Popieluszko went to Katowice with Mr Szaniawski, and Pietruszka said to me: how long are we going to allow these trips? I said that they were going by train and not by car. Then there was a discussion about throwing him off the train. It did not occur to me at the time that Adam Pietruszka was thinking of this seriously. Conversations also occurred at the time that Popieluszko's plans for going to Gdansk were known. At that time, he and Jankowski were to be awarded the title of honorary chaplains of the underground. They did receive this title. At that time also, Adam Pietruszka was acting unfriendly towards me and I said that I had decided that we would take things into our own hands. The chronology of events may not be exact, for I do not recall certain statements. A great deal was said; there were many such discussions. I thought about which people could perform this task with me, which people in my department. The project was dangerous. Whoever was chosen had to be efficient; nothing was established precisely. There also were certain physical actions that had to be performed associated with the use of physical force against Popieluszko. The forms of these actions had not yet been determined at that time. I concluded that such actions could be carried out with the help of Waldemar Chmielewski and Leszek Pekala, given their physical predispositions; moreover, they were very good workers whom I could trust. I called them into my office and asked them to stay so that I could talk to them. I think this was in the afternoon. I told them briefly about the project and what was involved, gave them the instructions and told them that the Warsaw Office of Internal Affairs was procrastinating on this matter. I asked them to consider it and told them that if anyone backed out, it would not be held against him. They agreed to my proposal, either immediately or shortly thereafter. I described the nature of the tasks to them, explaining that these were special tasks that we do not perform within the ministry or in general, that they would have to use physical force and that they were dangerous tasks. When they gave their consent, I said: we must consider how to do this. Personally, I envisage kidnaping him. I think that we must have Popieluszko in our hands if we are going to harass him. In order to have him in our hands, we must kidnap him. I certainly must have referred to the approval of my superiors at that time. I reported loyally on all the discussions that I have mentioned previously as having conducted. I stated that this most definitely was an order from above and I gave them to understand that it was not merely Adam Pietruszka's idea. Until the arrest I was convinced that this could not have been merely the idea of Adam Pietruszka. At that time we determined that they would search for a place to kidnap him. Here I would like to explain that their real supervisor was my deputy Janusz D. I left the initiative for purchasing things up to them, perhaps only noting to them that they would need something to tie him up and some sort of masks.

The initial discussions on this subject might have taken place in two stages. I do not recall exactly. We talked about buying those materials, whose cost

was no object. I used the statement that cost was no object, meaning that it was better to spend 1,200 zlotys if spending 1,000 zlotys meant that they would not have everything that was needed for the project. They did not buy everything on credit.

I had certain funds at my disposal and when an employee made an accounting, I could approve these expenses, but the director had to approve the accounts for the previously specified amount designated to me. I spoke to Pietruszka once about these costs and he asked: what are you saying about costs? I knew that I could write a report on my expenses and Adam Pietruszka would approve it. Of course, these had to be costs within real, calculable boundaries. I understood that they could be, at most, sums that fell between the two boundaries that Pietruszka could approve. Total expenses amounted to 25,000 zlotys and I somewhat overspent this sum.

My department was buried in work. I had absolutely no time for preparations and so they dealt with them. Once they told me that they had a place. We went there, I saw it (the bunker) and I said that it would be good for hiding Popieluszko for several days. I heard about the bridge right then and there, but it was not my idea. After surveying the bunker, someone said something about a manhole, about rocks. One of them said that this manhole will have to be covered with rocks. Previous to this I had told them that all clothing-related items would have to be drowned following the act. The rocks were taken along for that purpose, to drown the clothing and to cover the manhole. There was much that was illogical, both in our circumstances and in our actions.

When Leszek Pekala spoke of the bridge, I expected only that our things would be drowned. We went to the bridge and got out of the car. I looked down into the water and said something to the effect that this bridge is good, but I had in mind the drowning of the effects we had used--registration plates, sacks, clothing and the like. In August I said that we must have replacement registration plates for use for various official tasks. Several replacement plates were needed. We also spoke of having replacement tables acquired illegally. Once Pekala told me that they have such plates.

I would like to make it clear that chief Pietruszka was not always giving me instructions and handing down orders, but at a certain point this became what Adam Pietruszka and I agreed upon. True, these were tasks ordered by my superior, but in the security service, a task is not the same thing as an order. Pekala, Chmielewski and I jointly agreed upon many tasks, but orders were not always issued. The plates were stolen based on the joint agreement, not as a result of my instructions. I do not know whether doing this was my idea or someone else's. When we went to look over the bunker and the bridge, I already knew that Popieluszko was going to Gdansk. After looking over the bunker, I reported the matter to Adam Pietruszka. I told him that we were ready and I also told him who would do it--Pekala, Chmielewski and I. Pietruszka asked whether they could be trusted and I said they could. Where will he be kept? [asked Pietruszka.] I replied, in a bunker in Kampinos. And when will this take place? I answered that it would be on the day of his departure for Gdansk.

Before this, the question of what would happen arose during our conversation. We knew that Popieluszko suffered from certain sicknesses that were not life-threatening. We knew that his doctors released him to avoid being questioned. They used to put him into the hospital for so-called safekeeping, until one time the ward head of one of the departments wanted to throw him out. Since certain physical acts came into play, however, death resulting from a heart attack could not be ruled out.

In reality, I had a direct line to director Pietruszka, but only regarding urgent official matters. Usually I used a different system. First I phoned the secretariat secretary and asked whether Pietruszka was alone. Then I telephoned him or went to his office. On that particular occasion I phoned and learned that he was not alone. I went to his office later and waited. I put the matter to director Pietruszka, asking what would happen if Popieluszko died from a heart attack caused by our actions, due to fright. Adam Pietruszka replied that that was his hard luck that he had such a weak heart. This surprised me a little, but I did not comment on it.

[----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances art 2 point 1 (DZ U No 20 item 99, revised in 1983, DZ U No 44 item 204)].

I also would like to say that certain moments of the preparation period must have escaped my memory. Therefore, I would like to return to the point at which plans were finalized. Already at that time it was brought up that a situation could arise in which the use of force against Popieluszko would not suffice to lead him away into the car. Our plan was to carry him off by kidnaping him. We thought that we would be able to do this in Warsaw, on the streets of Warsaw. [----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances art 2 point 1 (DZ U No 20 item 99, revised in 1983, DZ U No 44 item 204)]. Periodically, I reported on all our activities to Adam Pietruszka, based on how far our preparations had progressed. I said that we still were not ready, that we were making preparations. Adam Pietruszka showed clear interest in the matter and pressed us forward. This was evident when we received information on Popieluszko's continued activities, for example the planned trip to Stalowa Wola. Moreover, we received these reports continually. We realized that the use of force might be indispensable. I would like to emphasize that we knew that Popieluszko moved in the company of Waldemar Chrostowski. He was, as they say in the West, Popieluszko's bodyguard. We also knew that Waldemar Chrostowski had been arrested four times for actively assaulting MO officers and had been sentenced at least twice for these acts. It occurred to us that we had to be prepared for this struggle. We talked about having socks ready and about means of communication. I was to handle the latter, since it was possible for me to do so. I proposed having ether. Once I came into the possession of some ether that was given to me by an acquaintance. I took along a container of ether on the way to Gdansk, but not to Bydgoszcz. On the way to Gdansk I told my colleagues that I did not know how to use it, that it could put someone out permanently. I brought the socks from my home on the day of our departure for Gdansk. I saw everything that had been purchased. I did not see the point of the purchase of the shovels-spades that they had bought. But since they already had bought them and it could not be helped, I thought that they might be useful for burying

things if we were unable to throw them into the water.

I would like to differentiate our plans from the ideas that came up in our conversations. Sometimes these ideas were utterly fantastic. We had our plans laid out precisely up to the point of stopping the car or up to the point at which Popieluszko would find himself in our car. As for certain ideas and words, no one ascribed any importance to them. They were ideas, not concrete plans.

Allow me to relate how I envisaged what we would do with Jerzy Popieluszko in the bunker. There were three or four ideas. One was based on Adam Pietruszka's statement once that we could work on him short of giving him a heart attack, frightening Popieluszko and beating him. I did not envisage this possibility and told my colleagues so. Then I said that I could not strike Popieluszko in an immobilized state, nor did I think that my colleagues could strike Popieluszko when he was tied up. Then someone said that he would frighten him, that he would put a pistol up to him until he promised that he would stop carrying on his activities. He would threaten him, saying that we would bury him in a pit or drown him. Another idea was to operate undisguised, showing who we were. But that could lead to problems with camouflaging our real selves, who it was that did this. Then I said that I myself would talk with Popieluszko, that they should leave this up to me, for I had my own plan. I had two ideas. As for the first, that we would present ourselves as officials, we also envisaged that Popieluszko would not suffer any insults, but would only disappear for a day. The first idea was based on the convention of the jealous husband's revenge. I had information on this. In conjunction with this, I was to conduct a conversation as the jealous husband. The conversation was to be played on cassette. This was to make Popieluszko think that it really was the revenge of a jealous husband, which I could use in the future to blackmail him.

The second idea envisaged that Popieluszko would pay no attention to our actions, and it was related to a certain assumption. It was based on the fact that we would cause a loss of Chrostowski's credibility in Popieluszko's eyes. I was generally aware from reports that Jerzy Popieluszko had expressed a lack of trust in Chrostowski more than once. Chrostowski had a key to Popieluszko's apartment. Small foreign articles had disappeared from this apartment more than once. We were to kidnap Chrostowski, but nothing was to happen to him, since he was only to be tied to a tree along the road in a visible location, and we were to inform the MO of this fact so that someone would find him immediately and because of this he would lose credibility.

Right after the imposition of martial law, the sum of 60 million zlotys was deposited in Jerzy Popieluszko's name as the Mazowsze regional fund. The money was held by Jerzy Popieluszko for a short time and was then distributed by him. Then it disappeared somewhere. We obtained possession of two receipts signed by Bujak, but as criminal studies showed, they both had been falsified. In general we learned later from our information that after an accounting was made, about 4.7 million zlotys was missing. I received information that this money had disappeared under mysterious circumstances and that one of the

receipts signed by Bujak had been falsified and was really Jerzy Popieluszko's. One of the questions was to be the following: Well, well, reverend father, let us talk about the money. We planned to pretend that we were people from the underground and that this was the revenge of the underground. We have data in our possession that was more or less to this effect, and I myself had quite a bit of information, I could even give specific names, but I do not want to point them out right now, for I would not want to give them warning.

This variant envisaged that we would hold him for one night. We considered how we would release him. We knew that we could not go after him, for someone could find him by accident and then when we went to get him, there could have been an ambush prepared by the MO. We also decided to phone the MO organs and inform the MO of the location of his confinement. But then we decided against this plan, in order to avoid suspicion of MO cooperation or even participation in this project. We decided to present this information to the Warsaw Curia, who then would take action itself to free Popieluszko. As I stated earlier, we made some decisions jointly. I cannot say who said what exactly. It is a fact that we did make such decisions together. I had no influence over what those preceding me said on this subject. After our departure, we had planned to detain Popieluszko tied up in the manhole. I do not think that he could have suffocated. It seems to me that even in October, someone covered with a mantle would have no trouble surviving in a sheltered place. If we had not covered the hole with rocks, he would have been discovered readily. Unfortunately, we made a number of mistakes and illogical moves. After all, this was the first time we did this; we are not kidnaping experts. We did many stupid and insane things, as it later became clear. The socks we had with us were supposed to be for the struggle, to defend ourselves from aggression. It was only in the car on the way to Gdansk that someone said that someone would have to be knocked out. We expected active resistance, i.e., the aggressive behavior of Chrostowski. On the way to Gdansk, they [the socks] were filled with sand and were thrown into the trunk. It was assumed that perhaps we would have to use them. And I think it was in Warsaw after our return that someone said that the socks were useless. But perhaps someone said this on the way to Gdansk and then two sticks were cut. Later, after our return to Warsaw, they were thrown away.

The plan of the kidnaping involved approaching Jerzy Popieluszko on the street, seizing him under the arms by force and placing him into the car. I would call the trip to Gdansk a spying trip. It seemed to us we had to be very happy if our task was to succeed. During the course of our preparations, we had a report on Popieluszko's departure for Gdansk. We went to Gdansk to carry out the project, but I was aware (and so were my colleagues, I believe) that this could be very difficult. I did not believe that we would succeed in carrying out our project in Gdansk.

In any case, when the question arose of our departure for Gdansk, I spoke with Adam Pietruszka, saying that we must go. He said: yes, go to Gdansk, perhaps you will be able to do it there. Then I said that we needed a pass. He said that we would get one. Then the matter of gassing up the car arose, since one could not fill up a gas can without permission. Then Adam Pietruszka and

I determined that we would receive a pass good for the entire country. Until that time, specific target locations had been named.

On the eve, Leszek Pekala and I found out that Adam Pietruszka had disappeared. Then I had to get his home phone number from the secretariat. I reached him and told him that we did not have the promised pass. He said that he had it in his official car that was parked at the ministry, but that the keys were at his home. Then I said that Leszek would come to his home. He said: good. They went and brought me the pass in this case. I already had the permission slip to gas up, but I did not have the pass, and got it at the last minute.

When I spoke to him as I received the permission slip, I expressed doubts regarding this operation, but Adam Pietruszka expressed an opinion that showed unequivocally that the matter would be pointless if we were worried about security. I had no tangible evidence that this came from the top, but the manner in which it was related to me was unequivocal. Perhaps it was even better that it did not come from any higher-ups.

Chairman: Were the higher-ups for the defendant only Adam Pietruszka?

Piotrowski: Now I know this. Before I thought otherwise.

Prior to the departure for Gdansk, I awaited confirmation of a report from a certain person regarding whether Jerzy Popieluszko really was going to Gdansk. Before 8 o'clock she was to telephone the officer on duty to give the password indicating whether or not he had departed, and then she was to call my office. It was already time to depart and I phoned the secretary, asking her whether such a conversation had taken place. I also said that if I was gone, the party should relay this information to the officer on duty or to the director of the department.

We met at the church early and then we went to Gdansk. I had a report that three individuals had gone to Gdansk in a [Volkswagen]-Golf: Jerzy Popieluszko, Waldemar Chrostowski and Seweryn Jaworski. While we were on our way Pekala asked what would happen if he had an accident. We decided that if we did not succeed in seizing Popieluszko in Gdansk, we would try to get him by causing an accident. Pekala, an experienced driver, chose the location. It was a section of road with a 50km speed limit; the highway was marked by a solid line. We determined that our car would sit in a forest glade and Chmielewski would come around the bend.

We went to Gdansk, I entered the church and we look around it. It is a very characteristic place of worship; various kinds of pictures are sold there. There was also the question of having the tires vulcanized. They told us that there was a vulcanizing station in Sopot across from the Grand Hotel that was open all day. We went there and it was closed, and the subject of dinner came up. Then I took certain liberties with money. I said that we deserved something, the firm would not go bankrupt or fall apart. Although our dinner was not terribly sumptuous, the place was gorgeous. We did not drink any vodka there, however, just beer and we took some beer for the road. I paid the bill of about 4,000 zlotys. We left a small tip. After dinner

we decided to change the plates. Near the Grand Hotel in Sopot, at the North Bathhouse, we changed the plates to CZK and the numbers that had already been changed beforehand. Later we learned that these numbers were to be inserted in the Kalisz Province beginning with 1 January 1985.

Then we returned to the church. A function was being held, after which Mr Walesa also did his thing. Popieluszko's cheering section also performed. After the show, Father Jankowski drove away in a black Mercedes and the Golf followed him. Father Jankowski went to the Heweliusz and the Golf went on further. We started to race each other on the highway. The Golf played games with us. The Golf reached speeds of about 130 km per hour and our car barely could keep up. Since I saw that the Golf did not slow down even in developed areas, I knew that this attempt would not succeed. Previously Pekala indicated how this attempt should be made, that he practically would have to get on top of the car. Then I understood a tragic accident could occur at this speed but I did not say this to my colleagues because it would be stupid for the boss to bungle things. We planned to stop the car and hit it, leave the scene and then return to the scene and help them as completely different individuals. And then we were to say that we would take the priest but not the others, since we did not trust them. That is why we had bought the stocking caps, to disguise ourselves initially. We had made these plans on the way to Gdansk. Today I admit that we expected an accident, but no one had thought of this seriously at the time. Nor did we consider the details, i.e., emergency help and the like. The subject of burning the car came up for the first time on the way to Bydgoszcz.

We pursued the Golf at speeds of 140km per hour. I sensed that our plan was becoming less and less feasible. I wanted to make an attempt, however, since it was very embarrassing to me to show my colleagues that the boss somehow had bungled things. Beforehand, I had taken one rock to throw out of the trunk. It weighed about one-half kilogram. I thought that the window pane would stand the strain, but that it might crack and this would force the driver to stop the car. After Leszek Pekala told me that the car was approaching, I proposed to my colleagues that we make another attempt, but in fact I had decided myself to forego the attempt. We overtook the other car, arrived at the planned location, put on our caps. Then we got out, Chmielewski with his walkie-talkie, Leszek hid the car in a glade and we walked about 150 meters. Waldemar Chmielewski said that he had a signal that the Golf was approaching. I went out on the highway with my back to the car, pretending that I was drunk, and I took several zigzagging steps. When I saw that the car was beside me, I threw the rock with a broad upward sweep of my arm. I did not want to hit it. Had I wanted to hit it, I would have hit it right then and there. The driver veered left. At that time, there were no oncoming cars, and Chmielewski and I ran as fast as we could back to our car. We went back to a parking area in the forest. However, I do not wish to relate the conversation that took place in this parking area. We changed the plates there, but only one. Unfortunately, the other one stayed on the car. Then we drank some beer and went to Warsaw, to the ministry. There we took the things out of the car and put them in a cabinet in Pekala's office and went home.

I would like to stress that none of us had bloodthirsty instincts, none of us that sit on the defendant's bench. I simply believed that they had put too much effort into preparations. We tried to have every factor on our side. I felt this. Perhaps these are my meanderings today, but at the time I thought that it was better to do it the way I did it, the way it happened. On the way to Gdansk we also tried to stop him. In the investigation precise questions were asked of me. I did not answer them. From the beginning of the investigation I believed that Popieluszko died directly at my hands, and this was the case until I became aware of the material evidence. However, many things were not discussed then during the investigation. [----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances art 2 point 1 (DZ U No 20 item 99, revised in 1983 DZ U No 44 item 204)]. Moreover, I would like to stress that during the hearing, the questioner behaved in a very refined manner, with an understanding of my mental state. Answers were not prompted, but in an investigation it is very difficult to explain things. I spoke irrationally about many things, but this does not mean that I spoke incorrectly. Nonetheless, it is very difficult to explain things during an investigation.

I already spoke of throwing the body into the Wisla on the second day, the 24th of October.

Returning to my explanations, we returned during the night of the 13th/14th of October (Saturday night/Sunday morning). Before departing for Gdansk, since my deputy Janusz D. was to be at work, I left him a note saying that Leszek was on vacation and that Waldemar Chmielewski and I were in the field on official business and that we would return in the afternoon. Before our departure for Gdansk, I spoke with Adam Pietruszka. I informed him that beginning on Monday, 15 October, we would begin watching Popieluszko again. I informed him that Leszek Pekala and Waldemar Chmielewski would be carrying out certain orders from me, Leszek Pekala would be on vacation and Waldemar Chmielewski would be on leave, and that there should be no problems if P. or D. asked about them. Adam Pietruszka replied that he would remember and then said that he even would write it down and he wrote it down somewhere in his calendar. This notation is evidence in the case documents.

On Monday at work my deputy told me about a certain incident. He was in P.'s office when he learned that there were reports that Popieluszko had gone to Gdansk. He did not know what we were doing. He was in P's office along with one of his employees that kept an eye on people and he also was interested in Popieluszko and he told the general about this trip. Then Pietruszka entered and when he heard this, he said that he knew for certain that Popieluszko was in Warsaw and that he should not chatter about such things.

On Monday Adam Pietruszka called me into his office for a report. I told him about everything, about the development of events, about the attempt to throw the rock that did not succeed. He used the expression that it was too bad, it could have been a nice accident. I said that during the trip to Bydgoszcz we would perfect our operation and it will be more effective. He asked whether D. knew about the operation and said that D. would probably complain to me about him. I returned the "W" pass to him. I did not say that the throwing of the rock was camouflaged.

I was very busy during the next week, I had trips in the field. Leszek Pekala and Waldemar Chmielewski were to continue their observations but I had noted at a certain point that this was a waste of time and I ceased doing it. Then I obtained a report from my informers about Popieluszko's departure to Bydgoszcz, ostensibly to take part in a concelebrated mass, but really to meet with Rulewski's group and others. This was to be organized in a so-called pastorate of working people. It was organized by Father O., a priest of lower rank than Father Popieluszko. I also was informed about his departure for Stalowa Wola at the invitation of Father F., a person of similar type, known for the illegal building of churches.

We decided to stop Popieluszko under the guise of a road check and we also spoke of how to restrain Chrostowski. It was then that the proposal of the handcuffs arose. Since the equipment was inefficient before (I mean the walkie-talkie), I proposed obtaining a different, more modern type of walkie-talkie. Then Chmielewski said that he could get handcuffs, we needed two pairs but he only had one pair. At the same time, I told Chmielewski that he should take a uniform. I have an acquaintance from whom I requested a certain informal act--lending me his uniform. I gave him some trifling reason. The uniform was taken from storage, but informally, since normally this required many different formalities. I do not wish to say who this was. I also spoke of the can and of the jacket and cap. I would not like to go into why he gave it to me in a white case.

On Thursday I had a conversation with Adam Pietruszka who asked whether we were going to Bydgoszcz. I said that we were but that we were not certain whether Popieluszko was going there. On Friday morning I found out for sure that Popieluszko was going to Bydgoszcz and I reported this to my superior. Jerzy Popieluszko's tactic was to make trips in two cars, pretending that there was always someone following him, that they wanted to stop him and kidnap him. He played out various myths of this sort. These were purposeful delusions. He rode with the driver. That is why we wanted to have two pairs of handcuffs, to restrain both of them, but we were only able to acquire one pair. It had been established previously that Popieluszko would sit in the back seat between Chmielewski and me. Pietruszka gave us the orders for the trip to Bydgoszcz, he gave me the gasoline card and he also gave me the "W" pass. That is, I telephoned the director and told him I was going and would like to have the "W" pass. Then he told me to tell his driver who had it in the car and he would give it to me. If he did not want to do this, I was to tell him to telephone Pietruszka and he would confirm it. I phoned the driver, Mr W., and told him that Pietruszka had promised to give me the "W" card. After a few minutes, W. brought me the same pass that we had had previously. My deputy was not in at the time because he had gone somewhere on official business. Prior to this, Chmielewski went somewhere for a uniform. They were at the church and said that they saw Chmielewski ride off somewhere. After their return they went for the jacket for Chmielewski. I still did not have any information, so I was certain that Popieluszko was somewhere in Poland, i.e., in Bydgoszcz. I telephoned Adam Pietruszka and said that Popieluszko was in Bydgoszcz. I asked whether I should go, since I was alone in the office and my deputy was away. He told me to go.

In the car I said that it would be good to have a service weapon, that this would create an impression. I did not have mine in the office. I remembered that I had it at home. Before my departure, I told my secretary that if there were any orders or telephone calls, she should relay all matters during my absence to director Pietruszka, who knew everything. This was the first time that I told her that I was going away and then I said it in her absence to employee S. I do not have a telephone at home, so when I saw that my weapon was not in my office, I began to make phone calls. I called my secretary and my wife through my secretary. Finally I went home to get my weapon.

I took a P41. It had two cartridges, I think. I took out the cartridges. I hid them and had the weapon in a holster under my sweater, a so-called hanging holster. I am absolutely certain that we spoke of burning the car between the 15th and the 19th of October. We decided to stop the car, take out the passengers and burn the car. That is why I also took along the small canister.

[----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances art 2 point 1 (DZ U No 20 item 99, revised in 1983 DZ U No 44 item 204)]. We wanted to destroy the automobile to prevent Popieluszko from making trips and also to cause him a severe loss, for he would have to return money to Father L. for this car. True, he had his own Fiat, but he gave it to Chrostowski, creating a fictitious buying-selling agreement. At that time I was supposed to lend a colleague 700 zlotys so I went to his home and gave him the 700 zlotys. He asked where we were going and I said we were going to Plock. The friend then gave me beer, three Czech beers out of friendship.

Chairman: What was this colleague's name?

Piotrowski: Ludwik. However, if it is possible, I would ask the High Court to permit me not to release names, since these are SB [Security Service] employees and there are many Western press correspondents in the room.

Chairman: Fine.

Piotrowski: Before the departure, I gave another instruction to my secretary and we left for Bydgoszcz. We had car trouble on the way. We turned left off the road to Gdansk since we were going to Bydgoszcz. I am not very familiar with this road. We had something to eat on the road. While we were driving, there was the matter of the stick and the matter of talking about choosing a location to stop them. I say that it was the throwing of the rock while we were riding that would determine the location, but I disregarded this entirely, even saying: fine, fine, making light of it, and only Pekala persisted in this form of stopping them. Then a car approached suddenly on the left side of the highway. We were not sure what had happened, but Leszek got out and cut two or three sticks from the sticks that were lying there and brought them into the car. I think it was then that Pekala said that we could swing the socks but the sticks would be much better. The idea was that they could be used to counter Chrostowski if he attacked us.

At the time we did not expect that Jerzy Popieluszko would get into the car very easily. We went to Bydgoszcz. The question of what to do with the car

still came up. I shall speak only of the burning of the car. As for what the others said, I shall exercise my right to refuse to make a statement. I think we said right from the beginning that we should wrap the sticks so as not to cripple the individuals, for they were to serve only as weapons in a struggle. Someone said that we could use them if it became necessary to do so. We did not discuss this in any greater detail or any more specifically. This referred mainly to Chrostowski. We were in Bydgoszcz at about 17 hours. We wanted to fill our gas tank at our ministry station. True, we did have CPN [Petroleum Products Center] coupons for use in the general access stations, but they had been issued so unwillingly by our ministry that this led us to treat them as extremely valuable and we preferred to fill up at the ministry station. I do not know Bydgoszcz although I had been there three or four times. I remember primarily the central city area. We reached the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs. I wanted to use the phone there in case my secretary had something to report. I informed the duty officer that I was from the Main Headquarters and showed my identification card. He did not look at it. I asked about the ministry gas station. The duty officer gave me some explanation. I also asked if I could use the telephone. I asked about a direct line to Warsaw but he did not know whether there was one. Then I was connected with the central exchange. I found out the direct number and was connected to Warsaw. The deputy duty officer lifted the receiver. I asked him whether there was any information for me. He answered that there was not. So I said "goodbye." I confirm in full this information, which I spoke of during the investigation, even though I am aware that that officer does not confirm it.

Then we asked the duty officer of the WSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs] about the location of Wyzyny and we drove to the gas station. Since I wanted to make certain where Popieluszko was, I asked about another church where Popieluszko could possibly be. There is another such pastor in Bydgoszcz, Father K. from the Paulist Missionaries order. I found out where those churches are located and then we went to the rectory of the Martyr-Brothers Church. It is a very large and splendid church with an enormous rectory. The church essentially is made up of three churches. I entered the church. In one some choir was singing. I entered the next one, where there was a bulletin board announcing the celebration of a mass for the working people's pastorate. It was a mass for this pastorate, for some working people only did come for the mass. However, as I already said, a meeting of a select group was supposed to take place there. There were a few dozen priests, including Father Popieluszko. I told them to change the numbers of the car. Then one of them came back to me and told me that they had been changed. While we were stopped there some came in and others left, including Waldemar Chmielewski. Then, when I had already reached the car, one of them said that some person, some man repeated our newly changed numbers aloud as he was passing. And it is possible that I said let them write them down but I myself do not remember that.

After a certain period of time elapsed, I noticed that people were coming out from mass. Some people went to the rectory with several priests. By then we had no doubt that Jerzy Popieluszko had come to Bydgoszcz. Then it occurred to us that he might stay overnight or he might go home the same day. In the event that he stayed overnight, we planned to return to Warsaw. If he took

the train, we planned that one of us would go by train and two would go by car, but then the other one would board the train at the East Warsaw Station and the third one would drive in by car and wait at the Central Station. We had planned to attempt to kidnap him and abduct him from the train, but suddenly the Golf approached and a man got out whose bearing was not Chrostowski's. At the time it appeared to us that this was Father L. There was some movement, another group of people came out and among them I recognized Father Jerzy Popieluszko. They packed something into the car and said goodbye. The red car left first and then the Volkswagen-Golf. We followed the Golf. They started out on the road to Warsaw. At a certain point the red car turned left and the Volkswagen went in the direction of Warsaw. At first I thought that as usual both cars would be going to Warsaw, according to the tactics used by Popieluszko.

Out on the open road, the Volkswagen-Golf drove at very high speeds. We tried to keep up with it and then we all determined that we would have to stop it somewhere in the surrounding area. The car increased its speed and got away from us, then it slowed down, as though they were playing games with us. I told Waldemar Chmielewski to dress up in the uniform. He was sitting next to Leszek Pekala, the driver. At a certain point, I told Leszek Pekala to signal with his lights. The Volkswagen slowed down, we drove up beside it and then Waldemar Chmielewski signaled with a flashlight illuminated with a red light. I had given Leszek Pekala handcuffs to restrain Chrostowski beforehand. Earlier we had considered what we would do if Chrostowski gave us a struggle. I took the stick into my hand as if to use it, but because of the way the bolsters are situated in the Fiat, this was impossible to do. I was unable to use the stick. The Golf began to slow down, we overtook it a little, then we stopped, the Golf overtook us and stopped a few meters in front of us.

Then Waldemar Chmielewski and I got out and he went up to the car first and I went after him. We approached the car from the driver's side. I went too. Chrostowski handed over his papers. I opened them and checked them. I was sure that it was Chrostowski in the car. One of us told him to come to our car for a sobriety check. Chrostowski got out of the car and came into our car, in the front seat. I was behind him. Pekala then handcuffed him. I told Chrostowski to open his mouth and put a rag in his mouth. Chrostowski began to wheeze. I thought he was suffocating, so I loosened the gag. Then I think I tied a rope around this gag and used it as a bridle around his neck. I said something to him about taking it easy and I left the car carrying the stick.

I approached the Golf in which Popieluszko was sitting. Chmielewski had stayed behind there. I told him to get out for identification purposes. He clearly was unwilling to get out. I put the stick through the window to prevent him from closing it. Then he got out and undid his seatbelt. I told him to get out for identification or something of the sort. I told him that we were looking for a certain criminal. He got out. I led him over to our car, holding him lightly by the arm. Our car was well within the road shoulder behind the Golf. We went to the rear to open the car door. I pushed Popieluszko forward. I wanted him to get in but he resisted. I had had him lightly by the arm. He began to say aloud that he would not get in. He asked

what was going on, what do you think you are doing. He made a lot of racket. I called Chmielewski and repeated my demand. Chmielewski also said something to him. Chmielewski told him to get in. We were standing at the height of the rear door post of the car. Then I ordered him to move. This left us standing near the trunk. Waldek then said nothing. I repeated my demand. Then at a certain point, Jerzy Popieluszko jerked away resolutely, he must have lost his balance. He took a step away as if to flee and I struck him with the stick in the area of his left shoulder, after which I struck him with the stick certainly one more time. I do not recall how many times I struck him. I am certain that it was at least twice, perhaps three times, but it is also possible that I struck him four times. Upon the last blow, Popieluszko fell, slumping to the ground. This was 2 meters from the trunk. I think I struck him in the head area. By the head area I understand the neck, parts of the back and parts of the head. I do not know whether I called Chmielewski by name then, I do not recall that. When he fell I bent over him. I think I turned him over, since he lay on his stomach. Waldek and I moved him over to the shoulder onto the grass and there the entire catastrophe began.

Waldek brought me a rope from the car. I do not remember whether I asked for a rope. I remember that I restrained Popieluszko's hands. I have a picture in my memory of putting something into his mouth, but perhaps this is so and perhaps it did not happen at all. He did not move, but lay unconscious. Waldek and I seized him and put him into the trunk of the car. Then we hurried into the car. I believe the trunk was open then. When we threw Popieluszko into the trunk, everything happened very fast. We closed the trunk lid. I can picture our having problems with getting him in. I do not recall whether there was a light on in the trunk, probably not. I said something later, but under different circumstances. We hurried into the car. Chmielewski sat behind Pekala and I sat behind Chrostowski. I think I said: drive away. The Golf stayed parked. I think its interior lights were on. I also had the keys from the Golf in my hand. I do not know who gave them to me. Chmielewski also gave me the papers. I put them in my back pants pocket. I do not remember, but I think it was during the chase that Leszek found out that the car was breaking down. As for the pistol, before we drove away, before we stopped and before we stopped Popieluszko, I took out my weapon, I removed the cartridges and put them in my pocket, and when Chrostowski already was in the car, I gave the gun to Pekala, saying: you have the weapon, watch it. I do not remember exactly, but I certainly did not say anything about shooting.

When the car was moving, it started to smoke inside. Pekala gave me the pistol, I put it into the holster or behind my pants. Waldek began to undress but was having trouble. I took the uniform off him, pulling it off, helping him. I actually undressed him. Chrostowski began to make some peculiar movements. I said something to him: Waldus, keep still. At a certain point, a strange thing happened. We prodded Leszek to drive faster. He said something about the car breaking down. We were overtaking a small Fiat. We could not pass it. Finally the Fiat slowed down, we passed it and, at a certain point, I noticed that Chrostowski was opening the door and he jumped out. Leszek slowed down and I noticed some sparks flying when Chrostowski hit the asphalt. In any case, Pekala slowed down. There was general consternation, I looked back and I saw that he was in a kneeling position. I told Pekala

not to spare the horsepower. We drove on. Somebody asked whether something had happened to him. I said: it is probably better that he jumped out. This solved the problem of what to do with him. We entered the streets of Torun.

In Torun I had to lead the car out of town. True, I had been in Torun for 6 months, but I still did not know the town. I only knew the central part of the city. I heard a bang and said that it was a wheel or someone else said: it must be a wheel so we are stuck here. I said we would have to get somewhere as fast as possible, so we drove to a developed area. We heard a second bang. Then Leszek said that we had lost the drive shaft. We stopped. We were shocked that we were sitting in a useless car and we had Popieluszko in our trunk. We all jumped out of the car. First we looked at the wheels, then we wanted to open the trunk lid, but Leszek must have made a mistake and opened the trunk lid. Suddenly I saw Father Popieluszko running across the square. I yelled something, rushed after him and caught him. Again I struck him with the stick in the area of the head several times. In the area of the head. I understand this in the way I already have explained. Jerzy Popieluszko again fell unconscious. In my opinion when he fell he was unconscious. Then it was as if I completely..., it is not important.

I would like to say that the blow I dealt when we stopped there in the forest was the first blow I had ever dealt a man in my adult life. Before this there had been blows in childhood squabbles, but this was the first one. After this blow I said to Leszek that I could not touch him, do what you want, I will not touch him. Before this Popieluszko lay on the grass, I think. Of this event I only remember that I put him into the car, with whom I do not even know. I adjusted the stopper in the oil, I think I plugged it up with a rag or maybe a glove. I grabbed what was at hand, I do not know what. We left Torun. I think I watched the road signs, I gave the directions. When we drove into Torun I saw the traffic police. They did not stop us then. Well, our actions in Gorski lasted 3 or 4 minutes, but I do not remember how long the ride into Torun lasted. But somehow I associated this road check with a blockade. I had the same impression as we left Torun. We drove toward Warsaw. It seemed to me that they were going to stop us but we rode on. I do not know whether I showed the pass or not, I do not remember. The car did not tail us. Finally, we crawled along and made our way to a gas station. Leszek drove through the station and stopped 50 meters beyond it. I got out of the car, ran over to the station and bought two cans of oil. Our car turned over and came toward me, I got in after having put in the oil and we drove on. At one point Popieluszko was quiet inside the trunk, but I think Chmielewski told me that Popieluszko was moving in the trunk. I guess he could hear this.

Now I would like to say that, on the subject of the events that took place after this until the moment at which we left from our final stop, I wish to use my right to make a statement. I would like to refrain from a polemic on whether it was I or my colleague. Even without this, there is much for which I am to blame. I am also much to blame regarding Chmielewski and Pekala, to whom I owe an unpayable debt.

In the investigation, when I was asked whether I would take part in a visit to the scene of the crime, I refused. I said I would do this if it were

necessary, indispensable. This was a dreadful experience, as I said during the investigation. Let it be as it was during the investigation; I confirm all my statements. I remember only having stricken Popieluszko twice.

I would like to report that, after restraining Popieluszko the first time, not once did I bind any part of his body, not once did I gag him, not once were the blows dealt Popieluszko blows merely for the sake of beating him. Had things gone according to plan, I would not have stricken him even once.

May I request a recess?

The court ordered a recess until 9 am, 9 January 1985.

8536
CSO: 2600/524

POLAND

ROLE OF DEFENSE COUNSEL IN TORUN TRIAL CLARIFIED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 5, 2 Feb 85 p 7

[Article by St Pod: "The Legal Aid Question"]

[Text] As the Torun trial progresses, the number of questions asked by the POLITYKA readers grows. Some of them concern the further use of the material acquired in the course of the trial, others are concerned with the defendant's legal aid. The readers ask for our view on these matters.

At a weekly press conference a fortnight ago the government press spokesman spoke about the work of a special supervising committee established within the MSW and about the survey of the ministry's personnel currently under way (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 23 January). The survey is being tape-recorded in full which, in my view, bears evidence to the authorities' involvement in the operation.

To what extent, however, is the court supposed to assess the actual course of events--unamended facts reconstructed painstakingly during the investigation and the trial? The sentence of the court presents, and qualifies, all that which directly involves the crime and the defendants. The rest of the facts established, appraisals and conclusions can be termed as informative material. (...)

The overwhelming majority of the counsels for defense engaged in the trial are lawyers appointed by the court and not hired by the defendants. The reasons for this can only be presumed. In accordance with the constitution the accused has the right to defense; it is also the court's responsibility to ensure him legal aid. This right is also recognized by the Covenants of Human Rights which we frequently refer to. The book on the defense counsel institution, issued by the Ksiazka i Wiedza publishers in 1977 and awarded by the National Council for the Bar states: "Lawyers appointed by the court to represent those who are not free to choose a defense counsel for themselves are part of the long-standing tradition of Polish legislation and the Bar." The authors refer to the 500-year old custom respected by the Polish legal system.

What are the actual rights and obligations of a lawyer appointed by the court? Precisely the same as other defense counsels'. According to the Barrister Disciplinary Commission, "the appointment of a lawyer to act as counsel obliges

this lawyer to carry out his professional duties with a conscientiousness equal to that expected by a client hiring a defense counsel of his own choice." The work entitled "The Role of the Court-Appointed Lawyer in Legal Proceedings," published by Legal Publishers in 1975, contributes a significant commentary to the discussion, and it reads: "The choice of a lawyer who is to act as counsel for defense is largely determined by his client's confidence; in the case of a lawyer appointed by the court it is essential that the defendant is convinced that he will receive genuine help, and for this he needs both legal and factual grounds."

The public's attachment to certain values becomes most conspicuous in extreme situations, when these values should be given priority over emotions. Polish lawyers defended with equal personal involvement the Cracow women's murderer Kot, the notorious criminal and repeated assassin Paramonow, the famous Silesian killer and the Auschwitz concentration camp commandant, R. Hoess. This tradition should be continued, regardless of the objections being raised by the authors of letters addressed to the Torun Court (POLITYKA No. 4) who seem to transfer their hatred of the defendants to the defense counsels. Those attacking or questioning the right to defense attempt to bring Poland back to the darkness of the Middle Ages seeking lynchings and violence instead of justice.

CSO: 2020/80

POLAND

PART V OF CENSORED TORUN TRIAL COVERAGE PRESENTED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 6, 10 Feb 85 pp 3-6,7

[Abridgment of account by Jacek Ambroziak, emissary of the Press Office of the Polish Episcopate: "The Rev Jerzy Popieluszko Murder Trial"]

[Text] 14 January 1985, 11th Day of the Trial

Defendant Adam Pietruszka continues his testimony. Judge Maciejewski began to read passages from the defendant's pretrial deposition. In the first of these passages the defendant Pietruszka stated that it was from his superior, at a conference on 22 October, that he had learned for the first time that the car was driven to Bydgoszcz.

In the next passage, the defendant Pietruszka is quoted as stating that on 20 and 21 October the section and the department received reports on the abduction of the Rev Popieluszko. He had then also received a copy of Chrostowski's testimony which did not, however, specify the license plate number WAB 6031. The defendant firmly declared that until 22 October, until his conversation with Gen P., he had not known of that matter, and he denies that he had received any report that the car was driven to Bydgoszcz; he also denies that he had advance knowledge of it. In the succeeding passage which the judge read to the defendant, the latter stated as follows: on 21 October in the morning he was summoned to Gen P. who told him that a moment previously he had seen a car with the license plate WAB 6031 in the ministry's parking lot and that said car was also seen in Bydgoszcz.

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Judge: "In view of this, and let us now refer to the testimonies of colonels G. and Z., did these inform the defendant of that license plate number?"

Pietruszka: "They didn't inform me so, and as proof I declare that, first, a witness was present at that conversation and, second, they did not specify that number in their written report--a fact which they should have specified."

Judge: "Until he was confronted with Piotrowski the defendant maintained that Piotrowski kept telling him that Popieluszko wouldn't be found, without actually telling him what happened to Popieluszko."

In this connection, the court read an excerpt from the pretrial deposition of the defendant Pietruszka stating that Piotrowski said that he didn't know what happened to Popieluszko but commented that Popieluszko wouldn't be found soon, as well as an excerpt stating that Piotrowski told him that Popieluszko hid himself someplace and wouldn't emerge soon.

Judge: "How can these statements be reconciled with the defendant's courtroom testimony on the subject?"

Pietruszka: "This question should be considered as follows: It was stated that Popieluszko wouldn't be found soon. It was also mentioned that this was a provocation by the underground, and that Popieluszko might be in a monastery. As for Piotrowski's statement that Popieluszko might be in the Vistula, that was simply another possibility mentioned concerning Popieluszko's whereabouts, and that was how I viewed it."

Judge: "But why did the defendant wait as long as until 5 November before sharing this information with anyone?"

Pietruszka: "It seems to me that I did already pass on this information even before the confrontation. Besides, everyone follows his own path for reaching the truth *ex ante*."

Judge: "But the defendant himself has deposed that he was terribly shaken by this information. He must have considered it important. Why then has not he transmitted it to his superiors?"

Pietruszka: "That was, as can now be seen, vital information, but at the time it was seen from another point of view, was of a different nature, had a different dimension."

Judge: "What about the issue of the possible trip of the Rev Popieluszko to Rome or sending him elsewhere abroad with a stipend?"

Pietruszka: "This information was considered and already known to us since May 1984. But once Gen P. returned from a conversation at which the Rev Archbishop Dabrowski had informed him that the Rev Popieluszko was to travel to Rome. We learned of this in October. This was known to me and I told Piotrowski about it as well. This information was a certainty. We felt, however, that the trip wouldn't happen soon, because pressure might be exerted by certain elements, e.g., by the underground, by persons and elements cooperating with the Rev Popieluszko."

Judge: "Was the defendant aware at all of the leave granted to the defendants Chmielewski and Pekala between 13 and 19 October?"

Pietruszka: "The normal procedure for granting a leave is as follows: the employee writes a report, the [section] chief opines on it and submits it for confirmation to the director. I had learned about these leaves even before my arrest, from the interrogation of the defendant Piotrowski, and noted it on my calendar in order to check it out later. I checked it out and found that I hadn't granted any such leaves. It has not happened before, besides, that a [section] chief would grant a leave without the knowledge of his superiors. After all, the chief is formally responsible for work discipline. And I had never before encountered an instance of any such informal leave."

Judge Debkiewicz: "After the defendant had learned, already during the pretrial investigation, about the leave granted to Pekala and Chmielewski, why did he jot this down on his calendar under the date of 16 October? Besides, the defendant made similar jottings concerning the cars with license plate numbers starting with 'WAB,' 'WAE' and 'WAF.'"

Pietruszka: "I jotted down that date fortuitously. Besides my calendar was to me a kind of notebook."

Judge Debkiewicz: "Under the date of 20 October the calendar contains a notation about a foreign stipend, deliberate concealment and joint appeals with Bujak."

Piotrowski: "That notation reflects the guesses we had then made concerning the abduction, because we assumed that it may have occurred on the initiative of the underground and that, if Popieluszko is there, he would not stay quiet."

Judge Debkiewicz: "Under the date of 22 October are notations concerning car license plates starting with the letters 'WAB,' 'WAE' and 'WAF.' And also a notation to the effect that, if something happens, there would be a symbolic funeral."

Pietruszka: "I noted these letters in order to, as I have explained before, verify whether somebody might not have tried to fake the license plate numbers of our cars, of our car. And as for that symbolic funeral, I jotted that down because the underground was of the opinion that it would organize a symbolic funeral for the Rev Popieluszko in the event that he is not found, or his corpse is not found."

Prosecutor: "Did the defendant have reasons for fearing the defendant Piotrowski?"

Pietruszka: "I can't think of any reason for fearing Piotrowski."

Prosecutor: "Why didn't the defendant draw any conclusion from Piotrowski's insubordination in arbitrarily altering the purpose of his trip to Gdansk on 13 October?"

Pietruszka: "It can't be said that I drew no conclusions from this. It takes about a month to determine official consequences in such cases. Everything had to be verified and clarified so that it would be not punishment but a well-considered decision."

Prosecutor: "Did the defendant inform Gen P. about that insubordination?"

Pietruszka: "No, I didn't."

Prosecutor: "Was the defendant aware that Piotrowski abused his power to intervene in passport matters?"

Pietruszka: "No such instance was known to me. Later the whole extent of this affair came to light, but only after Piotrowski was already arrested. I was aware, though, of various interventions by W. which were handled by Piotrowski."

Prosecutor: "Prior to Piotrowski's arrest did the defendant intervene in any such matters?"

Pietruszka: "Piotrowski sometimes came to ask me to speed up some passport application or to intercede in such matters. He would bring along a letter for me to sign and, if I felt that the application was warranted, I signed it."

Prosecutor: "Is there somewhere a record of such letters or applications?"

Pietruszka: "This has to be looked into. I myself besides always investigated whether intervention in such cases was valid and justified by the needs of the Service. I had to be certain in whose behalf it was to be and why we were intervening. That is, we always verified whether such intervention was warranted."

Attorney Grabinski: "As we know, the section chief kept track of the presence of subordinates, but who kept track of the presence of the section chiefs?"

Pietruszka: "The supervising directors."

Attorney Grabinski: "Was the defendant, as ensues from his statements, in daily contact with Piotrowski?"

Pietruszka: "No, this can't be said. There were days on which I didn't contact Piotrowski."

Attorney Grabinski: "But it was the defendant's duty to keep track of Piotrowski's presence."

Pietruszka: "Yes, that is so. I had to keep an attendance log."

Attorney Grabinski: "In this connection, was Piotrowski's presence in his office verified on October 19?"

Pietruszka: "I was aware that D. was on duty in Gdansk and hence, in principle, Piotrowski was supposed to stay and direct the section. As known, Piotrowski didn't inform me of his departure [for Gdansk]."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Grabinski: "Was one of the fundamental principles on which the defendant has expatiated so broadly, namely, the principle of subordination, mandatory in your ministry?"

Pietruszka: "Of course, I believe it to be self-evident."

Attorney Grabinski: "In view of this, how is such an action as using an official vehicle to travel on a mushroom-gathering trip without permission, etc., to be regarded? Isn't it perhaps an infraction of that principle of subordination?"

Pietruszka: "This is a serious infraction of that principle."

Attorney Grabinski: "In view of this, what has the defendant done about it?"

Pietruszka: "Piotrowski told me of it only on 21 October, and by 23 October he already was arrested."

Attorney Grabinski: "As the defendant stated previously, was he the director on duty on 19 October, and did on that date the defendant Piotrowski telephone him from Bydgoszcz?"

Pietruszka: "Piotrowski didn't telephone me from Bydgoszcz."

In this connection, Attorney Grabinski requested that an excerpt from the defendant's pretrial deposition be made public. The court accordingly read that passage, from which it ensues that Pietruszka had stated that Piotrowski talked with the officer on duty on 19 October but he, Pietruszka, himself was at a loss to understand why Piotrowski was calling him from Bydgoszcz. "He probably wanted to talk with me in my capacity as the director on duty."

Pietruszka: "I believe that the attorney for the prosecution has torn this sentence out of context. My statement says nowhere that Piotrowski called me. Besides, the officer on duty also denies that there was a telephone call from Piotrowski from Bydgoszcz. I received no call from Piotrowski. Only Piotrowski claims otherwise."

Attorney Grabinski: "The defendant stated that he had learned of the presence of the Rev Popieluszko in Gdansk from a report by Deputy Chief D. after the defendant arrived in the office of Gen P. Was it normal for a deputy section

chief to report on the Rev Popieluszko's doings directly to the department head? Didn't this deviate from the standard operating procedure in such cases?"

Pietruszka: "The evaluation of any fact is a subjective matter. D. regarded this as an important matter and therefore reported it to the director."

Attorney Olszewski: "Let me return to the conference of 20 September. Were any specific decisions taken at that conference concerning the cooperation between W.'s section and that of Piotrowski?"

Pietruszka: "That assistance was to be limited to intellectual assistance."

Attorney Olszewski: "The defendant mentioned cooperation between these sections. What specific cooperation was agreed upon at that conference?"

Pietruszka: "It's difficult to speak of specific cooperation. We operated within the framework of surveillance and determined what the Office of Internal Affairs for the Nation's Capital was to do next in accordance with its principles."

Attorney Olszewski: "At that conference were any changes decided upon concerning the activities of the section headed by W.?"

Pietruszka: "No, that conference did not introduce any changes into the activities of that section."

Attorney Olszewski: "Piotrowski has testified that he intended to help Chief W. by assigning to him Pekala and Chmielewski."

Pietruszka: "He didn't assign anything or anyone, because he couldn't do that. He only said that he intended to do so, but I knew nothing about his intention to transfer Pekala and Chmielewski. Such a transfer would have required my concurrence as the superior, and he would have to inform me first. But he didn't do so."

Attorney Olszewski: "In this connection, what ensued from that conference so far as W. was concerned?"

Pietruszka: "The need for the surveillance of political utterances by the Rev Popieluszko, evaluation of his statements from the legal standpoint and the organization and presentation of protests [to the Catholic hierarchy]."

Attorney Olszewski: "But that was already done previously. Was there anything else added at that conference. After all, these were his [W.'s] normal activities."

Pietruszka: "In general, operating methods are not new; it can be said that they are archaic, but it was necessary to be flexible and more emphatic in view of the increased aggressiveness of the priest's statements."

Attorney Olszewski: "In his depositions the defendant employed such expressions as 'The adopted assumption was that compromising material on the Rev Popieluszko was to be collected.' Isn't that so?"

Pietruszka: "Yes, I did employ such a formulation."

Attorney Olszewski: "What is the specific nature of that material which was to compromise the Rev Popieluszko?"

Pietruszka: "Well, this concerned such material as the issue of his apartment."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did W. receive any other new recommendations on the matter?"

Pietruszka: "We were to investigate whether he owned any fixed assets, whether he might not be a co-owner of some Polonia company [i.e., a firm established in Poland by Western citizens of Polish origin], because, as we were aware, Popieluszko was prone to accumulating material goods."

Attorney Olszewski: "Who was to utilize that information and how was it to be utilized?"

Pietruszka: "It's difficult for me to say who might utilize it without collecting that particular material, the decisions would have to be ours."

Attorney Olszewski: "The defendant has testified in this courtroom that the homilies of the Rev Malkowski or the Rev Popieluszko were scrutinized from the theological viewpoint and evaluated by the Papal Theological Academy, the Catholic University of Lublin and the Academy of Catholic Theology. Who authored these evaluations, and from what standpoint were they made?"

Presiding judge: "Were these theological evaluations consulted regarding the Rev Popieluszko alone or did they concern other priests as well?"

Pietruszka: "These sermons were evaluated from the legal standpoint concerning their overall content. I cannot state the names of the persons preparing these evaluations, because said persons reserved for themselves the right of confidentiality; they said that otherwise they would meet with an extremely negative response in their own communities, and secondly, naming these names would be inconsonant with the operating principles of our ministry, which doesn't allow us to reveal names."

Attorney Olszewski: "I wasn't interested in Service principles. All I want to know whether evaluations of this kind dealt with the Rev Popieluszko alone and whether they also concerned the texts of his sermons and eventually also any other statements he made."

Pietruszka: "The evaluations concerned only the text of his sermons."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Olszewski: "Was information concerning the Rev Popieluszko's trips across the nation presented at the conference in question?"

Pietruszka: "We did have such information, but it was not presented at the conference. That was a conference of a general nature. I wish to emphasize that the case of the Rev Popieluszko was just one item on the agenda. The question of his trips was not raised at the conference."

Attorney Olszewski: "Let me now return to the briefing of Col W. in the presence of Pietruszka between 16 and 19 October. Were the Rev Popieluszko's trips discussed during that meeting?"

Pietruszka: "The purpose of the meeting was to discuss why our activities were lagging behind what was happening, and our reactions, our protests, were by now acquiring a historical nature."

Attorney Olszewski: "Please just answer yes, no, or don't remember."

Pietruszka: "I thank the attorney for the prosecution for his suggestions on how should I answer."

Attorney Olszewski: "At that conference was the Rev Popieluszko's trip discussed?"

Pietruszka: "I've already answered this question. These trips were not the subject of the conference."

Attorney Olszewski: "The defendant told Chief W. in Piotrowski's presence that an end should be finally put to the Rev Popieluszko's activities and that the higher-ups were interested in the matter. Can the defendant comment on the context in which these words were uttered?"

Pietruszka: "A material proof that our superiors were interested in the matter was, for example, as I stated previously, the letters addressed to the Secretariat of the Primate of Poland or to the Episcopate of Poland. It is precisely these letters that constitute the material proof of the concern of my superiors."

Attorney Olszewski: "When the defendant stated that an end should be put to the activities of Popieluszko, what was he referring to? Sermons? Trips? Or something else?"

Pietruszka: "I meant the public, harmful statements of the Rev Popieluszko. No other aspect of his activities was of interest to the Service."

Attorney Olszewski: "Was the trip discussed at that meeting on 16 October? Was the trip of the Rev Popieluszko on 13 October to Gdansk discussed?"

Presiding judge: "Perhaps we should rephrase the question: Was it known that the Rev Popieluszko had traveled to Gdansk and was the nature of the statements he had made in Gdansk a subject of the conference?"

Pietruszka: "The nature of his statements was known, because our local office in Gdansk sent us reports about them. We did not consider this subject at the conference. Our discussion was limited to methodology and didn't deal with the nature of the sermon. The date of the priest's trip was not mentioned."

Attorney Olszewski: "Has the defendant heard from Piotrowski any other explanations as to what happened to the Rev Popieluszko, other than that he might be swimming in the Vistula?"

Pietruszka: "I've already explained this."

Attorney Olszewski: "In this connection, I request that the defendant's pretrial deposition be read, since it presents the matter in a somewhat different light."

The court made public a passage from the pretrial deposition of the defendant Pietruszka, in which he stated that, at the time Piotrowski returned the pass to him, he had considered the possibility that Piotrowski might have gone to Bydgoszcz in connection with the Popieluszko affair. He considered it because once before, in connection with the Gdansk trip, Piotrowski already altered an assignment arbitrarily. Moreover, following the conference in Gen P.'s office, he considered that Piotrowski might be involved in this matter, although he was not certain of it.

Pietruszka: "I considered this, because he had previously changed the purpose of his trip to Gdansk. I assumed therefore that, as I put it then, he took a fancy to going to Bydgoszcz."

Attorney Olszewski: "Why didn't the defendant report this to his superiors?"

Pietruszka: "I've already explained this."

Attorney Olszewski: "Now that these statements from his pretrial deposition have been read, does the defendant have anything to add?"

Pietruszka: "No."

Attorney Wende: "During the conferences with W. and Piotrowski at which the problem of curtailing the out-of-town activities of the priest, as the defendant put it, was discussed, can the defendant state in this connection what he would have done if he himself were to receive an instruction to curtail those activities?"

Pietruszka: "The answer is clear. The local office [of the Ministry of Internal Affairs] would be expected to record the text of the sermons, the nature of the prayer services and the manner in which they are performed, the

scenery and the conduct of the public on leaving the prayer services. All this would have to be recorded in order to organize a suitable protest [to the Catholic hierarchy]."

Attorney Wende: "Were these measures still undertaken within the framework of normal activities?"

Pietruszka: "Yes, but they had to be continually reiterated and the problem had to be kept topical."

Attorney Wende: "Were there any plans for rendering it physically impossible for the Rev Popieluszko to travel or move freely?"

Pietruszka: "No, physical duress was impossible. Legal measures, preventive measures, detention, would have to be applied, but there were no [legal] foundations for that."

Attorney Wende: "Was the question of Chrostowski considered, with the object of eventually having him transferred to another job so as to prevent him from acting as a driver for the Rev Popieluszko?"

Pietruszka: "Such possibilities were considered, but we gave up on them, because that would be nonsensical, since somebody else would be found to take over this role. We did consider eventually having Chrostowski placed in some sedentary office job."

Attorney Wende: "Was the subject of intimidating the Rev Popieluszko discussed? What was said about it?"

Pietruszka: "This issue was considered at the conference with Chief W. but, as I stated and explained before, on the basis of those three assumptions."

Attorney Wende: "Could the defendant have assumed that his subordinates might interpret such a formulation, expressed by the defendant, somewhat differently?"

Presiding judge: "The defendant has already explained this at length. Anyhow, was there discussion of what should be done in that respect?"

Pietruszka: "No, there wasn't. If the Rev Popieluszko equated our reality with the socialist system."

Presiding judge: "Isn't this a slip of the tongue on the part of the defendant?"

Pietruszka: "Yes, with the fascist system, he equated our socialist system with the fascist system, by mentioning gallows, hangings, but he uttered these words within the circle of his listeners, and that was relatively speaking how I paraphrased them in my account."

Attorney Wende: "Was the term 'gallows' uttered publicly? If so, please state where did the Rev Popieluszko employ this term."

Pietruszko: "Well, such terms were uttered publicly, and as I see it, a public utterance is one made in the presence of at least several persons, that is, already publicly. I also have received the information that such terms were uttered outside the rectory."

Attorney Wende: "Precisely who has provided this information to you?"

Pietruszka: "I decline to answer. I don't have to answer this question."

Attorney Wende: "Could you please also state who, when and in what manner instructed you to ask your subordinates to prepare written statements about their activities on 19 October?"

Pietruszka: "That was while I was absent from my office. The order came from either Gen P. or Deputy Minister C."

Attorney Wende: "Through what channel was the text of that order transmitted to you?"

Pietruszka: "Insofar as I can gather, Gen P. and Deputy Minister C. arrived and themselves told our personnel to prepare statements about their activities on 19 October. I wasn't present then."

Attorney Wende: "Let's return again to the issue of the 'W' pass. The defendant looked into the possibilities of forging that pass during the pope's visit, so as to prevent anyone from using the pass. How did the defendant process the passes?"

Pietruszka: "With the aid of a marker pen."

Attorney Wende: "Couldn't the defendant have asked the competent office at the Ministry of Internal Affairs to handle this?"

Pietruszka: "I could, but I wanted to do it on my own."

Attorney Wende: "In connection with the text of the sermon read by the presiding judge and the text of the pro memoria [protest letter to the Catholic hierarchy], also read by the presiding judge, could the defendant explain whether, in his own judgment, there exists some causal relationship between both texts? Does the wording of that sermon warrant drawing the conclusions contained in the pro memoria?"

Presiding judge: "Is the defendant supposed to be the expert on this?"

Pietruszka: "I'd have to become a prophet rather."

Attorney Wende: "Well, but could the defendant explain what relationship he now perceives to exist between the text of the sermon and the text of the pro memoria?"

Presiding judge: "The inaccuracies present in that sermon."

Pietruszka: "I noticed a number of tendentious and allusive statements in that sermon, but I cannot answer unequivocally the question of the attorney for the prosecution, because it wasn't I who authored that pro memoria."

Attorney Wende: "I asked the defendant's views considering his outstanding intellect and ability to interrelate diverse facts."

Pietruszka: "Your Honors, I decline to answer this question, as I might disappoint the attorney for the prosecution about my intellect."

Attorney Wende: "What did the defendant do with the information transmitted to him by Piotrowski to the effect that '...or he may be swimming in the Vistula'? Wasn't that information considered priority news by the defendant?"

Pietruszka: "I've already explained this to Your Honors."

Attorney Wende: "What does the defendant see as compromising in the fact that the priest owned a cooperative apartment? A rectory is not only a place of residence; it is a place of work and only temporarily a place of residence."

Pietruszka: "A rectory is not only a place of work but also a place of residence. The compromising aspect of apartment ownership is, to me, the aspect of morality, because families are awaiting apartments, there's a huge shortage of housing, but a priest owns a 'garconniere' [bachelor's apartment]. This isn't normal."

Attorney Wende: "Why does the defendant employ the term 'garconniere'?"

Pietruszka: "I'm borrowing it from newspaper articles."

Attorney Wende: "Was the Rev Popieluszko the only priest to own a cooperative apartment with a dwelling area of 17 sq m?"

Pietruszka: "I don't know about the apartments of other priests."

Attorney Wende: "Consider, please: the defendant learned from Gen P. that the car was in the ministry's parking lot. Why did the defendant respond by thinking it necessary to replace the license tags instead of, e.g., having the car driven to the garage and secured in order precisely to prevent anyone from replacing those tags?"

Pietruszka: "It's difficult for me to take a position on this matter. I construed it in the same manner in which I construed that order."

Attorney Marczuk, attorney for the defendant Pietruszka: "I should like to discuss the issue of those conferences, concerning which so much has already been said. Could the defendant state whether at these conferences anyone's performance of tasks, or failure to perform tasks, was discussed?"

Pietruszka: "The conferences were designed to determine tasks rather than evaluate performance."

Attorney Marczuk: "Has the defendant ever suggested in anyone's presence a need for extralegal activities? Were any suggestions addressed to Chief W.?"

Pietruszka: "No such suggestions were ever made or extralegal activities undertaken."

Attorney Marczuk: "Has the defendant ever suggested to W. that he abduct the Rev Popieluszko?"

Pietruszka: "I've never made such a suggestion."

Attorney Marczuk: "Now, to return to the pro memoria, is the defendant aware of what material it was based on--the department's material or some other material?"

Presiding judge: "This question has already been answered by the defendant."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Marczuk: "Did the defendant feel annoyed by any of his subordinates on the grounds that the section was so much concerned with the matter of the Rev Popieluszko?"

Pietruszka: "I did feel annoyed by D. because of his having gone to see the general. I believed that in an individual case of this kind there was no sense in rushing to see the general."

Attorney Marczuk: "An element of the defendant's activities was the question of sending Pekala to Nowy Sacz."

Pietruszka: "Two factors are linked to this issue. D. called me and said that Piotrowski instructed Pekala to take a trip to Nowy Sacz. I asked to speak with Pekala to find out why he was to go there and, after my conversation with him, I declared that there was no sense in sending him to Nowy Sacz. The other factor was that if, as Piotrowski says, the offices were indeed bugged, then why should I have discussed in my office the question of Pekala's trip to Nowy Sacz?"

Attorney Marczuk: "Did Pekala turn directly to the defendant?"

Pietruszka: "I was speaking with D. Pekala was on the telephone and told me why he was going. And then I told him that he didn't have to go."

Attorney Marczuk: "Pekala's cabinet contained a heap of various pieces of string, rocks, ski masks. Did the defendant know anything about that?"

Pietruszka: "I knew nothing about this subject."

Attorney Marczuk: "Was this a normal situation?"

Pietruszka: "That's difficult for me to answer. Normally, the purchases of all needed items, chiefly office supplies, are handled by an appropriate section in our department."

Attorney Marczuk: "Was there a custom of inspecting personnel lockers?"

Pietruszka: "That was neither customary nor feasible."

Attorney Marczuk: "The defendant is already aware from the testimony of Barbara S. that defendant Piotrowski told her that Pietruszka knew where he was. What do you say to this statement?"

Pietruszka: "What I say is explicit: this a typical comment made by all section chiefs to secretaries, whenever they want to go someplace outside, so that their superiors wouldn't know about it. I didn't see anything special about that comment, nothing to blame me for."

Attorney Marczuk: "Just when did the defendant learn about the stolen car license tags?"

Pietruszka: "From the material on the proceedings in this case."

Attorney Marczuk: "Was there another way of getting the tags, or would it have been difficult to obtain them officially?"

Pietruszka: "A certain difficulty exists, because a rationale would have to be provided to one's superiors; however, if necessity and the needs of the Service warrant, the approval of the department director can be obtained."

Attorney Marczuk: "Was the defendant a member of the operating team established following the return of the Rev Popieluszko, and did he receive the pertinent information as the member of that team, or also as a deputy department director?"

Pietruszka: "The difference in this case was either negligible or nonexistent."

Attorney Marczuk: "The defendant is aware that defendant Piotrowski claims that the defendant guaranteed his safety and said that the neck of the matter would be wrung, so to speak? How would the defendant be able to influence officially the pretrial investigation?"

Pietruszka: "The question of providing guarantees that the investigation would be halted has to be viewed from the standpoint of actual functions, because it's difficult to assume that the case would be investigated by our department alone, and it would be simply impossible for me to influence other departments."

Attorney Kwiecinski: "Did Piotrowski participate in department conferences following 19 October?"

Pietruszka: "Of course. All section chiefs took part in these conferences."

Attorney Kwiecinski: "Were aspects of the problem of the Rev Popieluszko discussed at these conferences?"

Pietruszka: "Yes, because only these aspects were discussed."

Attorney Kwiecinski: "Did Grzegorz Piotrowski have access to that information?"

Pietruszka: "Yes, and he could obtain even more precise information from the functionary coordinating the whole of the material relating to that matter and received by our department. He had access to him at any time."

Attorney Kwiecinski: "Given the general nature of his work, or by virtue of his official position as a superior, was Chief Piotrowski able to arrange for a subordinate to absent himself from his office?"

Pietruszka: "Of course, he was able to do so."

Attorney Kwiecinski: "Could the funds mentioned by the defendant Piotrowski in connection with the purchase of the items needed for that operation be collected from the section's financial unit?"

Pietruszka: "Such expenditures could be reimbursed, but only with my approval, and I wasn't asked for approval."

Following a recess the defendant Piotrowski asked to speak.

Defendant Piotrowski: "I'm convinced that the dossiers on this case contain a segment of Adam Pietruszka's calendar with the notation that Pekala is on leave and Chmielewski discharged. Already on 1 November I mentioned that notation, and I want to ask the defendant Pietruszka to explain how I could have known about that notation on 1 November."

Pietruszka: "It's difficult for me to interpret Piotrowski's statement, because it contains untrue facts."

Piotrowski: "But how could I have known about that notation even before I familiarized myself with the material of the pretrial investigation?"

Pietruszka: "Piotrowski claims that he also settled the question of [Pekala's] leave on cards which he transmitted to, e.g., D. Had my director wanted to delegate a member of Piotrowski's section, then I would, on the principle of analogy, not interfere, and I wouldn't go to ask the deputy minister."

Piotrowski: "I wish to comment on the testimony of the defendant Pietruszka and propose adding to the evidence information concerning Solidarity funds and their disposal by Jerzy Popieluszko. Moreover, I wish to state that the defendant Pietruszka said that he left notations and that I could have access to them. This is impossible. It would be easy to verify by asking Barbara S. just what did I say when I left my office for an hour. I also had no reason for not remonstrating with the militiamen in Gdansk when they told me to leave. After all, I had an official I.D., and that I.D. was completely sufficient."

"Contrary to what Pietruszka suggests, I've not offered in this courtroom any testimony incriminating him. I also wish to add that in this courtroom I mentioned Adam Pietruszka's qualities in positive terms. I wish to add one more to these qualities: guile. I'd have mentioned this quality first of all, had Adam Pietruszka succeeded in obliterating all traces of his involvement in this entire matter.

"Today I can't look my subordinates and colleagues in the eye because, owing to my naivete, lack of foresight, and failure to predict and assess the situation, I'm responsible for their sitting on the bench of the accused. I'm secure in the knowledge that, when this whole tragedy happened, I did nothing to evade my responsibility and place the blame on anyone else. This is neither masochism nor foolhardiness. I rather perhaps consider it a question of honor.

"Perhaps in view of my youth and experience, it's difficult for me to understand that the feeling of responsibility, civil courage, and personal honor are sometimes somewhat dangerous. I can say only one thing: Adam Pietruszka's testimony on the principal and fundamental matters is a tissue of lies."

15 January 1985, 12th Day of Trial

Following the cross-examination of the defendants, the court commenced the cross-examination of witnesses. The trial resumed with a delay, because the witnesses Ch., the Rev L. and S. J., summoned for 0900 hours, failed to appear.

The trial commenced at 1100 hours. The court warned the witnesses present in the courtroom about the penalty for perjury. After the identities of the witnesses were checked and with the concurrence of all parties, the court exempted the witnesses from taking the oath.

Testimony of the Witness Miroslaw W., 25 Years Old, MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Employee, Chauffeur:

"Until 19 October I had been the chauffeur at the disposal of Director Pietruszka. I drove a Polonez 1500X in which a 'W' pass was normally kept. At times Director Pietruszka took that pass with him. I myself handed it only once to anyone else: to Chief Piotrowski.

"As regards the day of 19 October, between 0900 and 1000 hours, more or less, I was visiting in the office of a friend, to wish her a happy birthday. The phone rang, she picked up the receiver and said it was for me: the caller was Chief Piotrowski—I recognized his voice. He repeated to me that on Pietruszka's orders I was to bring him the 'W' pass. I asked whether I should bring the pass alone or also the protective box in which it was kept. He said to bring it in the box. I descended the stairs and picked up the pass from the car. While I was downstairs, at the gate checkpoint, I called the office of Director Pietruszka to check whether he did indeed give his consent. His secretary answered and said that the director was busy. So I hung up. I went to the office of Chief Piotrowski and handed him personally the pass. I believe he thanked me. It's a bearer-type pass. Then I was in the garage at around 1430 hours.

"Later I drove out of the repair shop, parked outside the ministry building and reported my presence via radio telephone. The director came down and we left the ministry in the direction of city center. During the drive I informed him that I had given the 'W' pass to Chief Piotrowski. [Incidentally,] in addition to that pass, we had another pass authorizing us to drive into the parking lots. I don't remember what my boss had said at the time, if he said anything at all. The radio was on, the traffic was heavy and I had to pay attention to driving so that I mayn't have heard his answer. It seems that I heard neither a yes nor a no.

"That 'W' pass never came back to me; no one returned it to me. Later, on Monday, it was found in the Polonez. I have always been keeping track of it and whenever I entered the car I checked whether it was there. The director was keen about it. It was normally hidden under the right-seat cover, near the arm support. Uninitiated persons wouldn't know of this hiding place. Perhaps my previous testimony was somewhat different, as I wasn't certain whether the pass was put back in the car on Saturday or on Monday."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did Piotrowski only once pick up that 'W' pass from you?"

Witness: "I myself gave it to him only once, but several times I saw Piotrowski pick up the pass directly from Pietruszka."

The court made public a passage from the pretrial deposition of the witness, stating that Grzegorz Piotrowski sometimes picked up the pass from Pietruszka and hence his telephone call was no surprise to the witness.

Witness: "That's so."

Judge Maciejewski: "Was the superior of the witness informed that the witness gave the pass to Piotrowski?"

Witness: "I don't know. It is difficult for me to say. It seemed to me that he had heard me, but he may also not have heard me. I'm not familiar with his reaction. I didn't see it. I don't recall having discussed that pass again with the director."

The court read a passage from the pretrial deposition of the witness stating that Pietruszka informed him on Saturday that he received the pass from Piotrowski.

Witness: "I affirm this deposition; at the time I testified truthfully on all the circumstances. Now I no longer recall that conversation."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did the witness see the travel authorization on 18 or 19 October?"

Witness: "I didn't see that authorization. I don't know what was in that protective box, as I didn't look inside. I haven't transmitted any other document to Piotrowski."

Prosecutor: "Did Pietruszka ever complain because the witness gave the pass to Piotrowski?"

Witness: "That subject was not discussed."

Testimony of Witness Boleslaw S., 54 Years Old, MSW Employee, Political Scientist:

"I serve as deputy chief of the transport section and am in charge of the MSW's vehicles. The vehicles are allocated to the departments, and the department directors may place them at the disposal of discrete sections. On the area of Warsaw the vehicles are operated without requiring a prior authorization, but out-of-town trips require an authorization, which is given to the chauffeur or the employee driving the vehicle."

"Prior to an out-of-town trip based on such an authorization, signed by the unit director, fuel coupons, gasoline canisters and other necessities are issued. [A copy of the] authorization is kept by the transport section. Since these authorizations are periodically audited, they are recorded, and subsequently the fuel consumption and mileage traveled by discrete MSW units are checked. Our section checks into the utilization of the mileage and fuel limits."

Presiding judge: "Witness R. reported to you that somebody was inspecting the car in the evening."

Witness: "R. was the dispatcher on duty on 23 October, and he reported to me that on 22 October at 2300 hours Director Pietruszka appeared and wanted to inspect a vehicle. The dispatcher let Pietruszka, who was known to him, inspect the car. In the morning of 23 October the car was driven to us for inspection and repair."

Judge Maciejewski: "I'm concerned about the travel authorization for 19 October. Have you seen it?"

Witness: "Personally no. We tried to locate that authorization, but an employee of the section declared that someone showed up with it and that he issued him coupons and, because the visitor said that he also needed CPN [gasoline] coupons, which are issued by another section, the employee, being familiar with the visitor, told him to bring that authorization later. Subsequently we investigated and asked at that other section whether anyone came there for the coupons, but the answer was negative. So far we haven't found that authorization."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Next came the testimony of the witness Andrzej R., 33 years old, MSW employee, vehicle dispatcher. He confirmed the fact that the defendant Pietruszka had inspected the car with the license plate number WAE 938B.

Testimony of Witness Wojciech K., 30 Years Old, MSW Employee, Chauffeur:

"I'm a chauffeur in the department headed by Director Pietruszka, and I'm assigned to the section headed by Chief Piotrowski. I chauffeured a Fiat 125p having the license plate number WAB 6031 or WAE 938B. I've been employed for a year."

Presiding judge: "In your opinion as a driver, what kind of car was that? Was it fit for the wrecker, a dilapidated car?"

Witness: "No, it wasn't fit for the wrecker; it was drivable, though it didn't perform like a new car. Besides, in addition to myself, others too drove it. Usually this took place on the order of Chief Piotrowski. So far as 19 October is concerned, in the morning of that day I was at work. Then I had to leave work. I left the car keys with the section office. A set of duplicate keys was always kept by the chief. The car's registration certificate was kept inside the car. On Saturday 20 October I didn't work. The car by then was parked at the MSW, but it malfunctioned. Pekala told me this, and probably Piotrowski later also mentioned it. This concerned a missing oil cap, and there was no oil pressure as well. Since the car's service record qualified it for repair anyway, I decided to bring it in for inspection. The chief and I agreed that I would do it Monday."

Presiding judge: "After that car returned from the [out-of-town] trip, did Piotrowski hand you any documents?"

Witness: "He handed me the authorization for an out-of-town trip. Piotrowski handed it to me on 22 October in the morning, between 0800 and 1000 hours. He said I might need it when the fuel coupons are audited. Once a trip is done, the particular authorization for it is never needed again. Piotrowski may not have known of it. It was mostly I who reported such things to Accounting,

although sometimes other employees handled it too. I drove the car to the repair shop and on the reverse side of that authorization I wrote a note to the mechanic, asking him to also install a windshield wiper switch. I placed that paper on the shelf next to the gearshift lever."

Presiding judge: "Did you read that trip authorization?"

Witness: "I didn't, because it had expired and I thought it worthless. On Tuesday October 23 I approached that car--it was still in the repair shop-- and picked up that authorization. I came not for this reason but in order to check whether the repair order was written out. I as a chauffeur am duty bound to check what's happening with the car. The repair order was already written. I remember that it stated that the engine had to be replaced. The authorization still lay on the shelf. That was when I read it. At the time I was intrigued by the date on that authorization--19 October, as by then the people at the ministry were already talking about the events on that day. I linked it precisely to this affair. Later, I showed that authorization to two persons. I returned to work, intrigued by all this. At the time, I showed that authorization to the section secretary, Barbara S., and to another employee, Jozef M. Each of these two persons read that authorization separately. The first to see it was the secretary. I told her that I got that document from Piotrowski and that the date on it is the same as that on which the Popieluszko affair happened. I don't remember her answer. I talked with her for awhile. I asked her to check whether the signature of [Deputy] Director Pietruszka on that document was genuine. She looked around and tried to check this, but couldn't. I discussed this topic at greater length with M., who advised me to consult the director. However, I didn't bring that document myself to him, as I lacked the courage. I asked M. to do it. M. probably telephoned and went to see Director P. [Gen Platek] I had probably mentioned the matter to M. on October 25. Later, he told me that he had passed on that authorization to Director P. The authorization bore the seal and signature of Director Pietruszko and was issued to Piotrowski as well as to Pekala as the chauffeur. It was valid for the entire country."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did you scrutinize it carefully?"

Witness: "I read it."

Judge Maciejewski: "Why did the witness go to Barbara S.?"

Presiding judge: "Because the witness visited there often, as it was tedious in the drivers' lounge."

Witness: "I went to see her in order to verify [Deputy] Director Pietruszka's signature. We looked for other documents with his signature, for comparison. I was not certain whether it was his signature."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did you notice the date figuring on that authorization?"

Witness: "Yes, 19 October."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did you notice any signs of alterations on that document?"

Witness: "No."

Judge Maciejewski: "When did you contact M.?"

Witness: "Two days later. I had the greatest trust in him. He took that authorization to Director P. [Gen Platek] a day later. I believe that Director P. received it as late as on 28 October."

Judge Maciejewski: "Why did it take so long to transmit that authorization?"

Witness: "I simply relied on M.'s opinion."

Judge Maciejewski: "Are you aware of the date on which Pekala and Piotrowski were arrested?"

Witness: "Yes."

Judge Maciejewski: "Was the authorization handed [to Gen P.] already after Pekala, Piotrowski and Chmielewski were arrested?"

Witness: "Yes."

Judge Maciejewski: "Why didn't the witness give it to Pietruszka?"

Witness: "Out of fear, rather."

Judge Maciejewski: "What license number was on your car on Friday?"

Witness: "Civilian. WAB-series."

Judge Maciejewski: "And on Saturday?"

Witness: "I don't recall."

Judge Maciejewski: "And on Monday?"

Witness: "By then it certainly bore official tags."

Prosecutor: "What permanent document was required for that car?"

Witness: "A carnet of utilization, in which entries were made by those using the car, entries specifying the route taken and the mileage on the meter and containing the signature of the person making the entry."

Prosecutor: "Was an entry made in that carnet on 19 October?"

Witness: "Yes, by Pekala. It had his signature. It specified a Warsaw-Krakow route."

Prosecutor: "Are coupons and fuel issued on the basis of such authorizations?"

Witness: "Such authorizations are surrendered when collecting coupons or fuel."

Attorney Olszewski: "What did M. comment about handing the document to Gen P.?"

Witness: "He said that Gen P. was extremely surprised."

Attorney Wende: "And what did S. say when the witness showed her the authorization?"

Witness: "Nothing."

Attorney Wende: "Why was it that, after reading the authorization, the witness didn't immediately go to Pietruszka but instead began to investigate whether Pietruszka's signature was genuine and subsequently gave that document to M., asking him to take it to P. [Gen Platek]? After all, the witness could have brought it himself to P. Whom did the witness fear? Pietruszka or Gen P.?"

Witness: "I can't answer this question."

Next there was the testimony of witness Jozef M., 58 years old, MSW employee, driver-mechanic. He explained the circumstances under which Gen P. was handed the authorization for an out-of-town trip dated 19 October, issued to Grzegorz Piotrowski. His testimony confirmed the preceding testimony of witness Wojciech K.

Next, the witnesses Bogdan L., 41 years old, a Catholic priest, and Seweryn J., 54 years old, a metalworker, were summoned to the courtroom. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Testimony of Witness Bogdan L., 41 Years Old, Catholic Priest:

The Rev L.: "I knew the Rev Popieluszko and Waldemar Chrostowski. I'm the owner of the car Volkswagen-Golf, which at the time bore the license tag number WUL 2473. I loaned that car many times to the Rev Popieluszko. I did so several times in October. I'm aware that the Rev Popieluszko used the car for a trip to Gdansk, but I learned of this only later, after the fact. The Rev Popieluszko didn't tell me of any event associated with the trip to Gdansk. It was only after 19 October that Waldemar Chrostowski reported that some masked man wearing a stocking over his head attempted to hurl a stone at the car. As regards 19 October itself, several days prior to that date the Rev Popieluszko talked with me and asked to borrow the car because he intended to travel to Stalowa Wola and to Bydgoszcz. I gathered from our conversation that he was first to go to Stalowa Wola and then to Bydgoszcz. Two days before the departure, Waldemar Chrostowski came to me and took the car. I didn't make any special secret of these conversations and of my lending the car, but neither did I confide about this in anyone in particular. On 20 October Bishop Romaniuk called me and said that the car was damaged and the Rev Popieluszko

had disappeared. He said that I should call the procurature in Torun to find out what happened to my car. I met Waldemar Chrostowski only on the following Friday. It was then that Chrostowski narrated to me what happened, about the abduction and his escape, and it was then that he linked them to that event en route back from Gdansk. I've now recovered my car."

Prosecutor: "In what parish does the witness work?"

The Rev L.: "In the Parish of St. Francis in Okecie."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Wende: "I don't mean a legal detention; I mean illegal activities."

The Rev L.: "I heard about an attempt to throw explosive [at my car]. But I don't know any details about it."

Prof Byrdy: "Was the Rev Popieluszko a good driver?"

The Rev L.: "Probably. He'd been driving for many years."

Prof Byrdy: "Did the Rev Popieluszko prefer to drive alone or be driven?"

The Rev L.: "He preferred to be driven. Besides that depended on circumstances."

Prof Byrdy: "Could the Reverend comment on the state of health of the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko?"

The Rev L.: "He had some stomach or liver trouble, and in general he sometimes complained about his weak heart, but I don't know the details."

Testimony of Witness Severyn J., 54 Years Old, Metalworker:

Presiding judge: "On 13 October you arrived in Gdansk."

J.: "Yes, I arrived in Gdansk and departed from it, both times in the company of the Rev Popieluszko. All that time Waldemar Chrostowski drove. I sat next to him, while the priest was in the rear seat. I dozed. Halfway en route the car suddenly jerked violently and veered to a side. I awakened and saw in front of the car a man with a raised arm, a clenched fist. Later we commented on this and Waldemar Chrostowski even wanted to turn around. We said that it was horrible for anyone to behave so on a highway. I commented that there was no need to turn around, because it must have been some drunk; I had the impression that he was drunk. I believe that that event happened at around midnight, but I can't tell the exact time, because we departed at around 2100 hours and I didn't pay attention, as I was dozing. I can't say what was our speed; it seems to me we drove rapidly, but I'm no expert on this. On one side the terrain seemed wooded, but I don't remember what was on the other side."

"Besides, when the car suddenly veered, I awakened and was somewhat thrown against the driver so that I couldn't observe the road. My balance was shifted somewhat in the direction of the driver."

16 January 1985, 13th Day of the Trial

Following a recess the court resumed proceedings and witnesses were asked to appear in the courtroom. After warning the witnesses about the penalty for perjury, the court verified their identities.

The presiding judge thereupon asked the parties whether they would exempt the witnesses from taking the oath.

The presiding judge exempted the witnesses from taking the oath.

Attorney Olszewski: "I propose that all the witnesses take the oath, inasmuch as yesterday the prosecutor had asked that of only those witnesses who aren't employees of the MSW, while demanding that civilian witnesses take the oath. On the principle of equal treatment of all witnesses, I propose that they take the oath."

Presiding judge: "Don't you trust MSW employees and the prosecutor?"

Attorney Olszewski: "No, the point is equal treatment of all witnesses."

The court obliged all the witnesses present to take the oath.

Testimony of Witness Jozef B., 38 Years Old, SUSW [Office of Internal Affairs for the Nation's Capital] Employee:

"I'm a subordinate of Leszek W. I know nothing about this particular case. I had once attended with my chief a conference at the MSW. That was in October. The conference dealt with the extralegal activities of clergymen, including the Rev Popieluszko. It was then that for the first time I met Piotrowski, whom I had earlier known only from training exercises. At the conference D. and W. were present in addition to myself and Piotrowski.

"At the outset Piotrowski stated that the measures taken to curtail the harmful activities of clergymen were not producing results. Leszek W. outlined measures intended to curtail the hostile activities of the Rev Popieluszko. Piotrowski suggested that the priest could be intimidated. I remember one statement: that the priest should be shoved off a train. I didn't attach any importance to the comment of the defendant Piotrowski. I thought it to be the comment of an evil man who didn't like someone. A suggestion was made by Leszek W. Suggestions concerning legal aspects of the activities of the Security Service were made. Next, the defendant Piotrowski telephoned Pietruszka asking whether he and Leszek W. could come and see him. They both arose and left the office, in which I and Janusz D. remained. We awaited their return.

"After 20 minutes both returned to the office. Upon their return, after a couple of words were exchanged, we received certain directives whereupon our presence was no longer required. We left Piotrowski's office. I received certain instructions from Leszek W. We said goodbye and left. While returning [to the SUSW] with W., we did not discuss his conversation with Director Pietruszka. That particular conversation took place toward the end of the first decade of October; insofar as I can recall, it was on Tuesday 9 October."

Judge Maciejewski: "The witness used the term 'intimidate.' How did the witness understand this term?"

Witness: "To tell the truth, I hadn't thought about it."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did that concern a physical activity?"

Witness: "For many years I haven't dealt with a physical activity. I thought this meant collecting compromising evidence. I interpreted Piotrowski's statement about the ineffectiveness of our activities as an attempt to influence the higher-ups or as a complaint to Leszek W. Piotrowski didn't refer to any [higher-up] by name."

In this connection, the court made public an excerpt from the pretrial deposition of the witness, stating that some time during the conversation Grzegorz Piotrowski mentioned the possibility of using physical coercion on the Rev Popieluszko by shoving him from a train.

Presiding judge: "Was the expression 'physical coercion' used?"

Witness: "I don't recall whether it was used."

The court in this connection made public another excerpt from the pretrial deposition of the witness, stating that during the conversation Piotrowski stated that 'pressures' exist. The witness interpreted this to mean pressures by higher-ups in favor of giving Popieluszko a good scare.

Witness: "The statement may have been made that the disappointing results may cause the higher-ups to feel discontented."

The court read another passage from the deposition of the witness, stating that the impression produced on him by Piotrowski's monologue was that the proposal to intimidate Popieluszko had been approved.

Witness: "At the time I may have thought so. There had been no results. After all, Piotrowski had his superiors who may have been pressuring him."

Judge Maciejewski: "Was D. present during that part of the meeting when Piotrowski was, as the witness put it, uttering his monologue? I mean when he used the expression about 'shoving off a train'?"

Witness: "I don't recall, but probably yes."

Attorney Olszewski: "Following the conference a directive was transmitted according to the witness. Did it concern the Rev Popieluszko?"

Witness: "Yes."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did it concern gathering compromising evidence against the Rev Popieluszko?"

Witness: "Yes."

Attorney Olszewski: "Does the witness remember the statements he made during his pretrial interrogation?"

Witness: "No, I don't."

Attorney Olszewski: "I request that a passage from the pretrial deposition of witness B. be read."

The court made public a passage from the deposition of witness B., stating that, following the conversation with Piotrowski, W. reminded him that, in accordance with the regulations, "we're going to investigate Popieluszko's schedule of activities."

Witness: "Yes, I affirm this testimony."

Attorney Olszewski: "Was this surveillance undertaken?"

Witness: "Your Honors, do I have to answer this question? May I decline to answer it?"

Presiding judge: "If that's an [official] secret, the witness may decline to answer the question."

Witness: "Then I decline to answer."

Attorney Olszewski: "In view of this I request that the superiors of the witness be asked him to release him from the obligation of secrecy in this respect."

Presiding judge: "We shall ask them at an appropriate time."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did the witness consider Piotrowski's comment importunate? After all, defendant Piotrowski was a person who supervised your performance. In this connection, that may have been an order."

Witness: "Well, yes, he supervised our work."

Attorney Olszewski: "During that conference, were any other topics considered?"

Witness: "I don't recall."

Attorney Olszewski: "How did the witness react to the criticism of his performance? Did the witness somehow discuss that criticism with W.?"

Witness: "I didn't, because that was not a topic to be discussed, besides I didn't think it important."

Attorney Olszewski: "Was it the impression of the witness that someone said that perhaps he [Popieluszko] should be shoved from a train?"

Witness: "Well, I had such an impression that such words were uttered, but I don't remember anything."

Attorney Olszewski: "About that directive mentioned by the witness, did it concern starting hour-by-hour surveillance of the Rev Popieluszko?"

Witness: "That also is an official secret."

Presiding judge: "The witness doesn't have to answer this question."

Attorney Wende: "Your Honor, I wish to refer to Article 163 of the Code of Penal Proceedings."

Presiding judge: "Do you again intend to read the code of penal proceedings? Kindly cease obstructing the conduct of the trial."

Attorney Wende: "In fact, it even is my duty to read this provision, because it seems to me that precisely at this trial I have the right and duty to refer to the provisions of the code of penal proceedings. And I wish to offer the reminder that Article 163 specifies that the court and the prosecutor may release a person from the duty of keeping an official secret, that is, there is no need here to consult the defendant's official superiors and instead a decision of the court or the prosecutor on this matter will suffice."

Witness: "I believe that I may answer this question."

Attorney Olszewski: "Then please answer."

Witness: "The Rev Popieluszko was under surveillance."

Attorney Olszewski: "Was that surveillance discontinued before 19 October?"

Witness: "It was carried out for 2 days, on 16 and 17 October, and then it was discontinued."

Attorney Olszewski: "Was a report on that surveillance transmitted to Piotrowski?"

Witness: "I don't know."

Attorney Olszewski: "Well, but who was eventually authorized to transmit a report on such surveillance to Piotrowski in accordance with the official procedure?"

Witness: "If anyone, that would be Chief W."

Attorney Ilasz: "When using the locution 'importunate,' did you mean only the idea of shoving off a train, or did you also mean pressure [by Piotrowski's superiors]?"

Witness: "It seems that then he didn't specifically refer to pressure."

Attorney Ilasz: "When was your memory better concerning the utterance cited?"

Witness: "In November, during my pretrial interrogation, but as regards pressures from 'higher-ups' I don't recall having heard that expression."

Attorney Ilasz: "You stated that pressures existed in that matter. You had deposed so."

Witness: "That may have been so, but I'm not quite certain about my statement."

Attorney Ilasz: "Did you read the record of your pretrial interrogation?"

Witness: "Of course, I did."

Attorney Ilasz: "Don't you find a discrepancy in that record, considering that in it you had referred to those pressures?"

Witness: "It's difficult for me to say."

Judge Maciejewski: "Witness, please answer: did the witness at the time testify truthfully or falsely?"

Witness: "I testified truthfully."

Attorney Ilasz: "Do you feel that the nature of that conversation was relayed to others?"

Witness: "Chief W. didn't comment to me in any way about his conversation with Piotrowski."

Attorney Ilasz: "In this connection I request the court to read a passage from the pretrial deposition of the witness in which the contrary was explicitly stated."

The court made public that passage, from which it ensues that Chief W., upon returning with Piotrowski from Pietruszka--it was precisely after their return that Deputy Chief D. left the office--and departing together with the witness,

declared to the witness that, in accordance with the decisions taken during the conversation in Pietruszka's office, they were going to establish surveillance of Popieluszko's activities. It also seemed to him that Piotrowski was incompletely candid in his presence, because he made cryptic allusions.

Witness: "That had been my impression at the time. I mean the course of the conversation as a whole."

Attorney Marczuk: "When the conference resumed after they had returned from Pietruszka, did the witness consider Piotrowski's ideas about continuing the measures and the need for physical activity?"

Witness: "W. didn't return to this topic."

Attorney Marczuk: "You used the term 'matter.' What do you mean by it?"

Witness: "I mean the problem, the question of the Rev Popieluszko."

Attorney Marczuk: "Did the witness during the conversation hear the term 'pressures'? Did W. repeat that this term had been uttered concerning this matter?"

Witness: "The conversation dealt with pressures for curtailing the hostile activities of the Rev Popieluszko."

Attorney Kwietnicki: "Did Chief Piotrowski say that he would help you[re section]?"

Witness: "I recollect that Piotrowski's section was to take over certain functions and precisely that was what he meant by helping."

Attorney Pubanc: "Regarding the hostile activities of the Rev Popieluszko, how did you interpret the nature of the means of curtailing them?"

Witness: "It's difficult for me to answer this question, because I wasn't directly concerned with the matter of the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko. Leszek W. worked out the plan for these activities. I happen to know that this was a longrange plan."

Attorney Olszewski: "The witness is aware, and has stated so, that the measures planned were of a longterm nature. In view of this, how does the witness account for the fact that surveillance of Popieluszko was undertaken, and why did it last for 2 days?"

Presiding judge: "Was that your decision?"

Witness: "No, it wasn't my decision. What probably happened was that our surveillance was detected and so we had to discontinue it. But this is only a guess on my part."

Attorney Marczuk: "Was the form of surveillance only one of the forms, or the sole form?"

Witness: "It was one of the forms."

Testimony of Witness Jozef Z., 45 Years Old, MSW Employee:

"What I know is confined to the forenoon hours of 13 October. It was then that D. asked me whether I knew anything about Gdansk, whether the Rev Popieluszko went there sometimes, and what I knew about it. I answered that I knew nothing. Then he informed me that he was aware that the Rev Popieluszko was going to travel to Gdansk and declared that this information deserved being shared with the heads of the department. He proposed going to the director after checking whether the heads of the department were present. He called and found that neither the director nor his deputy, that is, neither P. nor Pietruszka, was present.

"Since they were absent, we went with that news to another deputy director, who informed us that they would return and ordered us to wait quietly, because he regarded it as important information which should be transmitted to them.

"On coming back, D. again called the secretary and asked her to notify us as soon as the heads would return. As I stated previously, 15 minutes later she notified us that Director P. [Gen Platek] was asking to see D., who also informed him of my coming. We went together to Gen P. and, after D. conveyed this information, the director uttered a few sentences and then asked Deputy Director Pietruszka to come. Pietruszka arrived and D. again repeated the information that Popieluszko was to be in Gdansk today. Then the deputy director reprimanded D. in a rather impressive manner and I asked Gen P. for permission to leave his office. I left, while they remained. Pietruszka's complaint was that this was a trivial matter and we should'nt have bothered the department heads about it. I went to the section office, where I waited for D., who joined me some time later. He said that he had received a stark reprimand from Pietruszka. A moment later there was a telephone call for D. I didn't hear the conversation.

"After the call was over, D. said that he again was reprimanded, and that he had received that reprimand from Pietruszka."

Prosecutor: "Why did you consider important the report about the Rev Popieluszko's trip to Gdansk?"

Witness: "We considered this report important in view of the possible consequences of that visit in Gdansk. Usually such spectacles were followed by excesses."

Attorney Olszewski: "Would the witness please explain why, in his opinion, did D. share this information with him?"

[possible gap in text here]

Attorney Olszewski: "Is the witness familiar with that area [Gdansk]?"

Witness: "Yes."

Attorney Wende: "Did the report mention unrest in Gdansk on 13 December [date of the imposition of martial law]?"

Witness: "No, I hadn't seen any such mention, meaning that there was probably no such unrest, such being the only conclusion I can draw."

Presiding judge: "It is not the task of the witness to draw conclusions."

Attorney Wende: "Excuse me, Your Honor, but I believe that the witness is a rational being and has the right to draw conclusions. Thank you."

Defendant Piotrowski: "I'd like to ask the witness whether he is familiar with the nature of the activities of the Rev Jankowski [personal adviser to Lech Walesa], which I believe he is. And in this connection, I'd like to ask him what would have happened had he learned that the Rev Jankowski was coming to Warsaw at a time when none of the department heads was present and when also neither I nor Deputy Chief D. were present. Would then the witness have gone directly to Gen P. with such a report?"

Witness: "Yes."

Defendant Piotrowski: "Does the witness know whether the department heads were interested in, e.g., the trips of the Rev Jankowski to the parish of, e.g., St Stanislaw Kostka?"

Witness: "I know that the general was interested in them."

Defendant Piotrowski: "Were Piotrowski to be absent at the ministry, would the matter become of concern to Deputy Chief D.?"

Witness: "If a section chief is absent at the ministry, the matter would then be of concern to Deputy Chief D. If one section head is absent and another deputizes for him, the matter is equal concern to the latter."

Defendant Piotrowski: "In addition to the decision that the department director had to be personally consulted, was there any other information?"

Witness: "I was together with witness D., that is, the deputy chief."

Defendant Pietruszka: "Was anything to be done about that report before conveying it to the director?"

Witness: "I'd have to verify its accuracy."

Defendant Pietruszka: "Was the unit [local office of internal affairs] in Gdansk to be notified about that report?"

Witness: "Yes, but I didn't do so. I don't know whether this was done by D., considering that he was my superior and it was he who had the power to decide on that."

17 January 1985, 14th Day of the Trial

Testimony of Witness Waldemar Ch. [Chrostowski], 42 Years Old, Driver-Mechanic:

After warning the witness of the penalty for perjury, the court asked the parties whether they proposed that the witness take the oath. The prosecutor made the proposal. Witness Ch. took the solemn oath.

Waldemar Ch.: "I wasn't the chauffeur of the Rev Popieluszko. I merely drove his car. This happened many times. It began in mid-May 1982. In 1984 I drove the Rev Popieluszko on out-of-town trips about three times. One month before our trip to Gdansk we traveled to Bytom, and then to Gdansk and Bydgoszcz. We borrowed the Golf in view of the gasoline problem—it's diesel-engined. I learned about the trip to Gdansk only a few days earlier. The Rev Popieluszko asked me whether I would be free and could travel with him. Just then I had been on leave. A day beforehand I picked up the car from the Rev L. and parked it in front of my home. On 13 October I drove to the rectory and the Rev Popieluszko entered the car. Then we stopped to pick up Seweryn J.

"We were in no hurry. We arrived in Gdansk at about 1400 hours. I drove to St Brigid's Church and stayed put there. It seems to me that we departed from Gdansk at about 2100 hours. On the way back I was driving at about 100 km per hour. Nothing special was happening. The priest sat in the rear while Seweryn J. sat next to me. Ahead of Olsztynek the road curves, there were several curves and a slight downward gradient. There was no speed limit sign. After I had negotiated one of the curves I saw a man running onto the highway, facing in my direction. It seemed to me that he wore a stocking over his head. At the time I was driving at a speed of about 90 km per hour. I saw that man from a distance of 50-70 m, I believe. I may be wrong, as I didn't pay much importance to that. I saw his arm swing backward. He produced the impression of wanting to hurl something heavy at the car. I turned the car to the right and the man seemed to hesitate and his arm changed its direction. Then I turned to the left and, following a large arc, drove past him. Had I continued to drive straight on, I'd have driven over him. When I was turning to the left he stood at a distance of 10-15 m from me. I observed that the man did hurl something, but missed the car. He threw an object from a sideways position and not over our heads.

"I passed him at a distance of about 3 m. I turned into the left lane. Were a vehicle traveling in the opposite direction just then, I couldn't have done that, and it is difficult for me to say what else I would have done then. The next curve was not far off. It was dark on the road. My passengers woke up. I told them that this was some bandit attack or something like that. I slowed down. It was 2400 hours. I said that I was going to turn around and teach him

a lesson, but my passengers advised me against it, saying that it may have been an ambush and that I should let the matter rest. Later we reached Warsaw. I didn't notify anyone about this happening. We thought it must have been some madman, hooligan or drunk. It seems to me that my passengers were hardly convinced that the man was masked, although I told them that I saw him wear a stocking over his head."

Presiding judge: "Are you certain that the man threw something?"

Ch.: "I didn't see the object, but the movement of his arm convinced me that he did throw something. The whole incident lasted a second."

"Several days later the Rev Popieluszko informed me that he was going to Stalowa Wola. Later it turned out that he meant Bydgoszcz. Again he asked if I could go with him. I agreed. I was on leave till the end of October. A day beforehand I picked up to the car from the Rev L., but when the time came to go to the Rev Popieluszko, I took a trolley to the rectory. There, I met Mr W. of Bydgoszcz, who was to guide us to Bydgoszcz, where I hadn't been before, in his Fiat 132P. It was mentioned that Mr W. was to drive the priest to Bydgoszcz, but I declared that I'd be glad to go and could use such an excursion. I and the priest took a taxi to the Golf parked in front of my home and then drove in the Golf to Lomianki, where Mr W. was to wait for us. I didn't see him there, so I drove on. It seems to me that even before our departure the Rev Jerzy said that a light-colored Fiat with two men watching the rectory was parked in front of it."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Presiding judge: "When did that incident with the coffee happen?"

Ch.: "Much earlier, between 15 and 17 October. The Rev Jerzy noticed that a car had been parked for a couple of hours in front of the rectory. It was very cold. Then he said to me: 'They've been there so long. Go to them and offer them coffee.' I approached that car and said: 'Sirs, you've already been here for several hours, on duty, and hence the Rev Jerzy would like to offer you some coffee. Would you like that?' They acted insulted. So I left them alone."

"[Later, on the way to Bydgoszcz, on 19 October] I didn't see Mr W. in Lomianki. I thought that he had driven on. Later, however, we met him and he began to guide us to Bydgoszcz. We drove through Modlin and Sierpc. Before Torun the Rev Jerzy shifted to the Fiat of Mr W. I followed them in the other car. Thus we reached Bydgoszcz. We arrived at the Church of the Holy Brethren Martyrs. A priest came out of it and invited the Rev Jerzy to the rectory. He showed me where the garage was and our car was driven inside and locked up. Later, I too went to the rectory. I believe that we had arrived in Bydgoszcz at about 1500 hours. In the rectory we ate something. I listened to the radio, the Rev Jerzy went to take a rest, and Mr W. probably drove home, because after the Mass he was to come back and show us the way out of Bydgoszcz. It was suggested that he should return with us [to Warsaw], but the Rev Jerzy

said that there would be no sense to it. At 1800 hours the Rev Jerzy dressed and left for the Holy Mass. The service lasted about an hour and half. It was followed by supper and departure for Warsaw. We departed after 2100 hours. At 2120 hours I glanced at my watch; we were following W.'s car. He led us to a street exiting into the highway leading to Torun and Warsaw. It was dark but the night was clear. After awhile Mr. W. turned around and left us. The traffic on the road was very light.

"After I had driven some 15 km I noticed in the rearview mirror the headlights of a car. I was driving rapidly, about 120 km per hour, but the Rev Jerzy said that we had plenty of time and asked that I slow down. I drove rapidly at about 100 km per hour. The Golf was quite old, an old crate really. The car behind us drove with high headlight beams. It made driving difficult for me, blinded me. I even said to the Rev Jerzy that some lunatic was bothering us. I stepped on the pedal then slowed down, several times in a row. It looked like that car was bothering us on purpose, because it blinded us all that time. Finally, I decided to let it pass so that it would leave us in peace. I slowed down.

"The other car approached at a great speed. Its headlights began to blink. I realized that it wanted to overtake me. I slowed down still further and the other car began its overtaking maneuver. As it came abreast of us, I saw inside a uniformed man signaling me with a red flashlight to stop. I'm not certain whether his hand was inside our outside the car. It seems to me inside. The Rev Jerzy also noticed it and said that I should slow down so that we could find out what was the matter. I too thought that it was some road check. I slowed down. The car overtook us and stopped. I overtook it and saw the hand with the flashlight signaling us to stop. The interior of the car was illuminated. When I approached and saw the uniformed man inside, the Rev Jerzy asked me to stop or we might be in trouble. I answered that we should not stop in a forested area, but the Rev Jerzy instructed me to stop. I overtook that car and stopped in front of it at a distance of about 4-5 meters. The uniformed man wore the characteristic uniform of the highway militia. He left his car and approached my door. I got out and had ready my identity card, driving license and the car's registration card. I opened the window and waited for the militiaman to approach. When he approached I opened the window in half. The militiaman saluted and said that this was a road check. He said: 'Driver, why drive so fast?' Or something like that. I didn't know what to say. Then he asked to see my papers. I passed them to him through the window and saw one of the civilians in the Fiat emerge and stand behind the militiaman. As I was handing over the documents, the civilian began to shout 'The keys! The keys!' Then the militiaman said: 'The keys, please. This is a sobriety check.' I mechanically turned off the ignition and removed the key but, as I was about to hand it over, I hesitated, because never before had a militiaman demanded the keys from me. Then that militiaman reached over and grabbed the keys from my hand. I've the impression that he passed the keys and documents to the civilian. Then he said: 'Driver, please go to our car, where you'll blow into a balloon.' I opened the door, left the car and walked toward the Fiat. It seems to me that by then the dome light in the Fiat was off. One of the men or both followed me. I didn't pay attention to that.

"I reached the door of the Fiat on the passenger side. One of the men opened the door. I sat down next to the driver. That's the usual procedure for such sobriety checks. The driver said: 'Give me your hand.' I did so, as I thought he meant to place the sobriety tester in it. But he clamped a handcuff on it. I became greatly surprised. He said: 'The other hand.' I gave him my other hand, and the handcuff snapped shut. It seemed to me that something strange was happening. I probably asked what was the matter, but I got no answer. A moment later, the man who sat down in the rear seat pushed a gag deeply into my mouth. He grabbed me by the chin, ordered me to open my mouth wide because, as he said, he was going to push in that rag anyway. I opened my mouth, because I knew resistance was useless. I preferred to open my mouth and guide with my tongue the manner in which the gag was inserted rather than to let him suffocate me. I felt him pushing in the gag; it seemed to be a terrycloth-type towel. A moment later I began to rattle. I did it on purpose, so they would not wedge that gag too deeply into my mouth. Then he ceased pushing it in. He gave the driver a pistol and said: 'Hold the barker, the safety catch is off,' or "Release the safety catch," or something similar. 'Keep it aimed at him so he won't move.' I heard him and saw the movement of his hand. It seems he also said to the driver that he was going to get Popieluszko, or to get the priest. I don't know who gagged me, the civilian or the militiaman. Of a certainty, it wasn't the driver. They left the car. I hadn't noticed at first their crossing over from the Fiat to the Golf, and then suddenly I saw them near the Golf. Then I calmed down somewhat and began to consider what to do next. The two men stood near the Golf.

"The priest opened the door and left the car. They talked with the priest for awhile and then all three began to walk in the direction of the Fiat, with the priest in the middle. At one moment the priest hesitated, and then they both pulled at the priest and grabbed from both sides the sleeves of his cassock. Thereupon, the Rev Jerzy proceeded quietly. They approached the Fiat from the driver's side. It was then that I heard the outraged voice of the priest saying: 'Sirs, why treat me like that, how can you treat me like that!' They moved past the driver's door and proceeded toward the rear of the car. I had thought that they wanted to place the priest in the rear seat of the Fiat. But they moved past the rear door and after that I couldn't see anything. The driver aimed the revolver at me all the time and said: 'Don't move and don't turn your head.' He said it with a threatening voice. After they moved toward the rear I heard the sounds of a conversation and then a dull blow, as if someone hit a sack of meal with a stick. I noticed the driver's reaction. His facial expression contracted as it were and showed repugnance. I saw this from a corner of my eye. I guessed that the Rev Jerzy was struck. The driver reacted with repugnance; he shrank within himself as it were. I realized that some horrible thing happened to the priest.

"I thought that this was an ordinary highway robbery and there was nothing to discuss with them, and that I should react accordingly. I realized that only self-control could save me. I waited for an opportune moment to escape this situation. In the meantime the two men rapidly entered the car in the rear. Even before that I sensed something being thrown into the trunk, which was then shut with a bang.

"I don't recall hearing anyone order opening the trunk. I experienced this sensation because the car rocked. I considered that either the priest was thrown into the trunk or that it was just a trick to fool me by pressing down a bumper and the priest was abandoned on the road.

"After the men leaped into the car I heard one of them say, 'Drive off quickly!' or 'Step on the gas.' Then the driver asked what about the Golf. Someone answered: 'Perhaps someone will swipe it.' The Golf was abandoned with its parking lights on. The driver drove off very rapidly. During the ride someone from the rear placed a string over my mouth and said, 'Here's a string, so you won't yodel on your last ride.' The string was thrown over my head, drawn across the gag and knotted on my neck. I almost forgot: when these men entered the car, the driver passed the pistol to them in the rear. Someone had said: 'Give me the barker. The safety is off.' Then I sensed the barrel of the gun touching my head and heard the words: 'Don't move!' I don't remember whether this was said before or after the car started moving. I don't remember whether at the time someone had addressed me by name.

"The fellow in the back all the time talked nervously to the driver: 'Turn into the forest path.' Then I realized that the lives of us both, the priest and myself, were at stake. I realized that these might be the last moments of my life. At first, I decided to grab the steering wheel and cause an accident, but later I gave up this idea, because if the priest were in the trunk then he wouldn't survive such an accident. At the time I hadn't a safety belt on. My own chances, too, would be minimal. It was hard for me to tell the Fiat's speed, but I believe that it was about 100 km per hour. I realized that an accident wouldn't be a good idea. Then I decided to try jumping out of the car. I wanted to do it in the presence of some witnesses so as to leave a spoor, even if only a wet spot had remained after me. I leaned forward and with my little finger felt for the right-door handle. Another reason why I leaned back was that I feared being struck unconscious from behind. I remained in this forward-leaning position all the time. No one ordered me to lean against the seat back.

"I waited for the right moment. It came after the car had covered some 4 or 5 km. I saw a 'Mini,' which we overtook, and two men standing at a motorcycle on the roadside. I thought that was a good time to jump out. I wanted to do it while illuminated by the Mini's headlights. I pulled the door handle and at the same time pushed with my body against the door of the Fiat and threw myself head first in the direction in which the car drove. I would say that our speed was 90 to 110 km per hour. I remember that as I was jumping I wanted to create some [wind] resistance.

"I hit the ground and immediately curled up my body into a ball and let myself roll. When the rolling finally stopped I got up and saw that the handcuff on one of my hands came unfastened. I had jumped onto the roadway in an effort to make the 'Mini' stop, but its driver turned to the left and drove on past me. Then I ran to the men with the motorcycle. I told them rapidly what happened. I asked them to either take me along and chase the Fiat or go back and see whether the priest might not be abandoned in the forest. They refused. They said the engine wasn't working. Then I saw a large illuminated building

in the vicinity, at a distance of about 150 m."

Presiding judge: "How many meters did your body travel?"

Ch.: "I don't know; in such a situation it doesn't count. It was hard to open that door. First I leaned forward, then groped for the door handle, opened the door and pushed myself out of the car. I had never before jumped out of a car. I've always kept in good shape: I played soccer, trained in boxing, lifted weights. Since 1970 I've been working as a professional fireman. I've been driving cars since age 18. I did my military service in 6 Pomeranian Parachute Division, where training in, among other things, parachute jumping was given. But we had never been trained in jumping out of cars.

"I ran toward that building. I rushed inside the stair shaft. There was no one on the ground floor. I ran up to the second floor, toward a door where some men were present. I told them what happened and asked for their help. They led me down to the ground floor to a receptionist, whom I told what happened, that the priest was abducted, and that I wanted to telephone Warsaw, telephone the Curia or the Episcopate. That lady tried to look up the phone number, and she also tried to call the operator in Warsaw for information, but failed. I asked her to call some church, and also to call an ambulance, as by then I began to feel the consequences of the accident. I also asked her to call the militia. I walked back and forth in the room, because the pain kept getting sharper. Shortly afterward an ambulance arrived. The physician wanted to give me first aid on the spot, but I asked that some church and the militia be notified urgently. The ambulance had arrived after 10-15 min.

"The physician drove me to the Rev N. at the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary. I went with the physician to the rectory. The physician rang the doorbell. The Rev N. opened the door. He was probably terrified by my appearance. He invited us to his office and asked me to sit down and calm down. He checked my identity. I didn't have my identity card on me, but fortunately I had my labor pass. The priest examined it very carefully and long. I probably recounted twice to him what had happened. He said that I shouldn't worry and that he would attend to everything. The physician led me to the ambulance and I was treated in the emergency ward, where the prosecutor and a large group of militiamen appeared. I had probably stayed at the rectory for 5 or 10 minutes. I was treated at the emergency ward for about one-half to one hour. Even as I was being treated, I began to be interrogated. That was already after the x-rays.

"I told them everything in much greater detail than I did to the Rev N. Probably my testimony was recorded. That took maybe 15-20 minutes. The physician wanted me to be hospitalized on the suspicion of internal injuries. Then the prosecutor said that, for the good of the priest and for the good of the case, I should go to a MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] clinic, because there I'd receive medical care and be able to describe all this incident in detail, for the record. I consented. The ambulance first took me to the Province [Militia] Headquarters, where my handcuffs were removed and I was given shoes and clothing. There, I testified once more, while my bandages were removed, my wounds and contusions inspected, and I was photographed. Then I

again was driven to the emergency ward, where samples of my skin were collected. Toward dawn, I was taken from the ward to the MSW polyclinic. I declared that I was feeling fine and didn't have to go there, and that I should be let go to the Rev N. At the time I hadn't known what the game was about. Since the Rev Popieluszko and I had been stopped by a militiaman, I had no confidence in any... [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]. The tests lasted quite long. The physician who took care of me there was very nice. I was to be released in the evening of 20 October, but some officer arrived and said that color photos were needed, because Warsaw had only black-and-white photos. In this way, I was kept at the clinic of the militia headquarters for 3 days. I received excellent medical care. But I felt disturbed because they were detaining me there. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]. I wasn't told that it was for my safety. Then I wrote a complaint to the procurature and received a genuine reply explaining that I was being detained for my own safety."

Presiding judge: "Had you been in a civilian hospital, what would you have done?"

Ch.: "Probably nothing. But at the time I was in an extremely difficult and serious situation, I was fearful of everything. I wanted to go back to the rectory, to the Rev N. I wanted to [provide?] no more details than I had provided to the Rev N. All my statements probably were recorded. It took maybe 15-20 minutes. The physician wanted me to be hospitalized [line(s) missing in Polish original]. Please bear in mind that we [Chrostowski and the Rev Popieluszko] had been stopped by a militiaman. During my stay in the clinic I was interrogated several times. At the time, I described the appearance of the driver--the only person at whom I had taken a good look. Besides, he looked familiar to me, but I couldn't place him. It was only in the courtroom that I remembered having seen him during a search of the Rev Popieluszko's apartment.

"I was released on 23 October. A commando team riding in two cars escorted me. They were to take me to the Parish of St Stanislaw Kostka, because I am resident there. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

"To come back to what happened, I was driven to Warsaw and all the time I was being told that the search for the Rev Popieluszko continued. I was to be brought to St Stanislaw Kostka's but suddenly we found ourselves in Okecie. There I was kept waiting in the car for an hour and half. People were continually coming and going in droves. The car's radio telephone was in use. Afterward, I was driven to my home. There, I found three militiamen who told me that they would take care of me. I thanked them and, at their request, I signed a statement declaring that I released them from responsibility for me of my own free will. After they left, I rapidly went, or more accurately, fled

to the rectory of St Stanislaw Kostka.

"During my interrogation I was told that many militiamen were searching through the forest. When I was brought to the scene, I had indeed seen that for myself. I inspected the Golf to make sure nothing was gone from it. Only a small radio was missing. I didn't touch anything but merely looked in through a window."

Presiding judge: "Did you know the Rev Popieluszko long?"

Ch.: "Since 1982. I used to come to the church for the Holy Mass. He was my confessor. One day he invited me for coffee to the rectory, and that's how our acquaintanceship began. He knew that I was a professional driver and sometimes availed himself of my services, which I offered quite disinterestedly."

Presiding judge: "You've heard yourself being called a 'bodyguard.' Were you also the priest's bodyguard?"

Ch.: "No. I don't know why I was called that here. I was only his friend. I cannot call myself a bodyguard, because that's a job done by someone for pay, whereas I was the priest's friend."

Presiding judge: "You're a fireman? Did you have the proper training?"

Ch.: "Yes, I'm a fire-engine driver."

Presiding judge: "During the pretrial interrogation you testified that there were two of you traveling to Gdansk."

Ch.: "Indeed I said so at one time. But immediately afterward I wrote a clarifying statement. Please bear in mind that on the day on which I had testified concerning the trip to Gdansk I was shown photographs of the Rev Popieluszko [after his body was fished out of the river]. They were so horrible that when I saw them I asked to go to the bathroom. Besides, my lawyer, Attorney Wende, who was then present, acted similarly. I didn't deliberately gloss over it. I had simply forgotten all these impressions."

Presiding judge: "Do you recognize any of the defendants?"

Ch.: "By now I know them all by sight, but earlier I had seen only Pekala, during the search of the Rev Jerzy's apartment."

Presiding judge: "The fact that you were stopped by a militiaman caused you to lose confidence in the militia. This has caused a delay in the work of the law enforcement bodies."

Ch.: "Yes, indeed, I felt no confidence in the militia, perhaps unjustly. But the receptionist did immediately telephone the militia and notify them what happened. Thus, there couldn't have been a delay in the search owing to this reason."

Judge Maciejewski: "On 13 October did the witness notice whether your rectory or the car was under any surveillance?"

Ch.: "I didn't notice anything like that."

Judge Maciejewski: "Please explain what kind of windshield is on the Volkswagen-Golf."

Ch.: "A laminated windshield. It could have been broken by a stone thrown at it, but it also could have been holed by the stone depending on the force with which it was thrown."

Judge Maciejewski: "Were the stone to strike the car from the distance at which it was thrown, what could have been the consequences?"

Ch.: "The consequences could be deplorable; that depends on the reaction."

Judge Maciejewski: "Were there any ditches or escarpments?"

Ch.: "I hadn't seen anything like that, besides it's difficult for me to say as I was watching the road."

Judge Maciejewski: "The car was stopped near Torun. Did a uniformed man approach you? If yes, what kind of uniform did he wear?"

Ch.: "A militiaman's uniform. The kind probably called a garrison uniform. I'm certain that he had a white band on his hat, like that worn by the highway militia."

Judge Maciejewski: "You stated that the car drove off and traveled 4 or 5 km before you jumped."

Ch.: "That's so."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did the witness notice anything special about the car?"

Ch.: "I noticed that the rear window defroster button was atypical; it looked like a kind of signal light, a diode."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did the witness describe that special detail during his initial interrogations?"

Ch.: "Yes."

Judge Maciejewski: "Where there any seat covers?"

Ch.: "I can't recall."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did the witness state something about a shelf during his interrogation?"

Ch.: "Yes, I did, but I don't remember this detail any more."

Judge Maciejewski: "What did the witness fear at that moment?"

Ch.: "I realized that I was going to kick the bucket, so to speak."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did that realization prompt the witness to jump from the car?"

Ch.: "That was one reason."

Judge Maciejewski: "Is such a jump dangerous?"

Ch.: "Of course, it's dangerous."

Judge Maciejewski: "What injuries did the witness sustain?"

Ch.: "Abrasion of skin on the hand, rupture of tarsal bursa, scraped right hand, lacerated side—my entire left side was excoriated. Besides, to this day I remain under medical care. I've a medical exemption from work and I also have spinal ailments and headaches."

Judge Maciejewski: "At the moment when you struck the ground, did the handcuffs open of themselves?"

Ch.: "After I got up from the road I noticed that the handcuffs were open."

Judge Maciejewski: "What about the gag? What happened to it?"

Ch.: "I jumped out with the gag in my mouth, but at the moment when I got up I either threw it away or spit it out. I don't remember."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did the witness lose a shoe?"

Ch.: "I realized that my right shoe was missing only when I was leaving the ambulance."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did anyone try to catch the witness as he was jumping out?"

Ch.: "I hadn't felt it at all, but a large part of the skirt of my jacket was ripped off, and it wasn't found on the road."

Judge Maciejewski: "If anyone held the witness by the skirt of his jacket, who could be that?"

Ch.: "Only the driver, because it was impossible for any one to grab it from the rear."

Judge Maciejewski: "The witness is resident in an apartment building in Warsaw. Is that on the ground floor or on a higher floor?"

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Prosecutor: "The witness stated that he didn't want to stop the car when the militiaman motioned him to stop."

Ch.: "Yes, because the area looked deserted and the car didn't bear the identifying markings of the militia and it was dark at night. All this prompted me to be unwilling to stop. I stopped only and solely at the request of the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko."

Prosecutor: "The witness, as stated, has repeatedly traveled with the Rev Popieluszko. Was the trip to Gdansk on 13 October the first trip to Gdansk for the witness?"

Ch.: "I've been to Gdansk twice or thrice. I always drove the Rev Popieluszko to the Rev Jankowski. I wasn't interested in their conversation or its nature. To my knowledge, during the last trip the Rev Popieluszko was to celebrate a Holy Mass."

Prosecutor: "Does the witness know Lech Walesa?"

Ch.: "Yes, I saw him in Gdansk."

Prosecutor: "Whom did the Rev Popieluszko meet in Bydgoszcz?"

Ch.: "I don't know. Of a certainty he had met the priest who invited him."

Prosecutor: "Was there a meeting?"

Ch.: "Yes, but I had stayed at the rectory and don't know what happened."

Prosecutor: "Did you receive any remuneration for driving the Rev Popieluszko."

Attorney Wende: "I'm opposed to this question, since it has no bearing on the case."

Prosecutor: "It has a bearing, because defendant Piotrowski referred to it. We have to determine the relationship between the witness and the Rev Popieluszko, as this has a bearing on the circumstances of the crime. Besides, I wish to demonstrate that the witness was more than just a friend, that he derived certain material advantages from collaborating with the Rev Popieluszko."

Presiding judge: "Did you receive remuneration from the Rev Popieluszko?"

Ch.: "No, I didn't."

Prosecutor: "How often did you see the Rev Popieluszko."

Ch.: "Hard to say. Sometimes I saw him daily and at other times less often."

Prosecutor: "The witness mentioned an apartment search. Aside from the agents, the witness and the Rev Popieluszko, was there anyone else present?"

Ch.: "Yes, a prosecutor was present."

Prosecutor: "Did the witness have keys to that apartment?"

Ch.: "No, but I did visit it once before and know about it. On the day of the search that apartment was locked with a 'Skarbiec' type lock plus some ordinary locks."

Prosecutor: "Was the Rev Popieluszko questioned whether he gave anyone the keys to that apartment?"

Ch.: "I don't remember."

Attorney Wende: "I request waiving questions that have no bearing on this case but rather concern the proceedings against the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko that have been quashed by virtue of the Amnesty."

Prosecutor: "My aim is to establish a material truth, because the witness is suggesting that some evidence was planted [in Popieluszko's apartment], and I want to investigate and clear this up, because that's a major accusation directed against the law enforcement bodies."

Attorney Grabinski: "A trial for the murder of the Rev Popieluszko shouldn't be the venue for a totally different case; this would merely and solely confuse the issue and dispel the impression produced by the testimony of the witness Ch., a truthful testimony that sounds unusually credible and trustworthy. As for all these extraneous questions, they're intended to blur that impression and I request that questions of this kind be waived."

Prosecutor: "In order to demonstrate that the testimonies of the witness Ch. conflict, I request making public the testimony deposited by the witness Ch. while he had been cross-examined as a witness during the judicial proceedings against the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko."

Attorney Wende: "The witness Ch. is the principal witness named in the bill of indictment to be asked to testify here by the prosecutor, and hence I find it hard to understand why the prosecutor desires to undermine the credibility of the testimony of a witness whom he himself has asked to testify. I have and express the hope that the other witnesses will be asked by the prosecutor to testify in just as much detail and with the same exactitude as the witness Ch."

Prosecutor: "There are no your witnesses or mine. We all here together are supposed to arrive at the objective truth in this trial."

Ch.: "Let me answer this question. First, I stated that I didn't include these accusations in the record of my interrogation. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]"

Prosecutor: "Was the witness ever sentenced for actively resisting functionaries of the Citizens' Militia?"

Ch.: "I was once placed on trial for assaulting militiamen, but my sentence was suspended. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]."

Prosecutor: "Was it just once or more often?"

Ch.: "I was thus accused twice; two identical cases."

Prosecutor: "Then how come the last time the witness didn't resist?"

Ch.: "The situation was different. First, these militiamen didn't initially behave nastily or aggressively toward me."

Prosecutor: "Did the witness cause any difficulty to the law enforcement officials investigating this case?"

Ch.: "I didn't cause any difficulty."

Prosecutor: "In connection with the Gdansk and Bydgoszcz matter, did the witness appear in response to summons, or didn't he?"

Ch.: "I did appear."

[apparent gap in original text]

Prosecutor: "Who notified the witness about the summons?"

Ch.: "My lawyer."

Prosecutor: "Could the witness state where the fire started. Was it near the gas meter in the home of the witness?"

Ch.: "The fire started 3 meters from the gas meter, near the clothesrack."

Prosecutor: "Did the witness notice any items missing?"

Ch.: "Yes. My radio, tape recorder and television set were gone."

Prosecutor: "What was the value of these items?"

Ch.: "I have to pay about 60,000 zlotys for them, because they didn't belong to me."

Prosecutor: "What was the cause of the fire?"

Ch.: "In my opinion, arson."

Attorney Wende: "In connection with the prosecutor's questions I wish to declare concerning this case that, in connection with the needs of the investigation in progress, a high officer of the MSW requested me to make it easier for law enforcement officials to contact the witness, who was needed to assist in certain activities of these officials, and that I did so willingly. I notified the witness accordingly. Besides, it was suggested that I should facilitate these meetings in an informal manner and that the witness Ch. be informed as rapidly as possible about the activities undertaken. In other words, the prosecutor's suggestion that the investigation may have been hampered by Ch. is totally unjustified."

[gap in text?]

Attorney Wende: "Witness, please also state the dates on which these court sentences mentioned by the witness were pronounced."

Ch.: "Some 15 years ago. They were suspended sentences."

Attorney Wende: "Is the witness aware that after the expiration of the probationary period the sentence is considered nonexistent?"

Ch.: "Yes, I'm aware that the sentence is considered nonexistent."

Attorney Wende: "When jumping out of the car, did the witness see any mileposts on the road?"

Ch.: "Not at first, but when I was brought back to that spot, I did see them, and it was only then that I felt scared, thinking that my body could have struck one such post."

Attorney Wende: "After the mass in Gdansk on 13 October were there any street disturbances?"

Ch.: "No."

Attorney Wende: "After the mass in Bydgoszcz on 19 October was there any public unrest?"

Ch.: "No."

Therewith ended the cross-examination of witness Ch. Witness Ch. testified in an unusually objective, calm and self-controlled manner. His answers were

extremely exact and thorough. He didn't look like a nervous person. He answered in simple, lucid and cogent sentences.

The court decided to cross-examine two more witnesses, witness Miroslaw M. and witness Jerzy O. With the concurrence of the parties, the court exempted them from taking the oath.

Witness Miroslaw M., 17 Years Old, Heavy Equipment Operator:

"At that time I was living in a hotel in Przysiek. I was in training as a steam shovel operator. On 19 October, in the late evening hours, I was visiting friends just when Mr. Ch. rushed in. He looked ragged, his jacket was torn and hung in shreds, his jeans also were torn, his right shoe was missing, he had a handcuff on one hand and in the other hand some white plastic cord. I didn't see anything in his mouth. He looked terribly upset, shocked, and his ribs were scraped--I saw how he held his shirt away from them so it wouldn't chafe them, and he limped terribly. He rushed in and asked us to help and said that he was driving a car, that he was driving the Rev Popieluszko and that in the forest there was a man in a militiaman's uniform, that they stopped him for a sobriety check, handcuffed him, gagged him, and tied him with that cord. He asked us to go and help the priest if he was abandoned, unless he was abducted. I descended to the lobby and there was that receptionist. She telephoned the militia and the ambulance. Mr Ch. also wanted to be connected with the Curia and the Episcopate. That lady in the lobby tried to reach them, but failed. She succeeded only in calling the ambulance and the militia. That gentleman also explained to her what happened.

"Mr Ch. said that the priest was either abducted or abandoned on the road. He said that he may have been abducted to the forest. He was greatly worried about the priest.

"The ambulance arrived after some 20 or 25 minutes, and the militia after an hour and half when Mr Ch. was no longer there. Later a militiaman visited me and began to interrogate me. The ambulance immediately picked up Mr Ch. At the time only I and that lady from the lobby were interrogated. My friends weren't interrogated, because they had been drunk. My interrogation ended at about 2350 hours."

Witness Jerzy O., 41 Years Old, Catholic Priest:

"I had first met the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko long ago, while at seminary, in about 1969, but I didn't know him well. Later I met him in Jasna Gora on 30 September 1984. I told him about my parish, my work in the parish of the Holy Polish Brethren Martyrs. At the time, I had asked him to visit our parish and hold there a rosary prayer service. In Jasna Gora we tentatively agreed that he would come on 19 October, and we were to confirm this by telephone, which we did. Our parish provides pastoral services for laboring people. The Rev Popieluszko was known as a pastor, and that's why I invited him.

"We agreed on the phone that I would provide him with a car and driver for the ride to us and back. The driver was to be Mr Marek W., but it turned out that

the Rev Popieluszko came by another car, although Mr Marek W. had driven to pick him up in Warsaw.

"The Rev Popieluszko arrived at our parish at 1400 hours with Mr Ch., accompanied by Mr Marek W. in a separate car. I had never before met Mr Ch. I don't remember just how he was introduced to me by the Rev Popieluszko. I had the car of the Rev Popieluszko driven by Mr Chrostowski into my garage, from which I removed my car.

"After their arrival I gave them scrambled eggs, tomatoes and bread. The service was held at 1800 hours. I proposed to the Rev Popieluszko that he take some rest, and he lay down and rested. After the service, which lasted 2 hours, he said that he was feeling unwell and took his temperature. It seems he said that he had a temperature.

"The service was followed by a meal. It was a meatless meal, something like eggs, cheese, bread and butter. I brought him that meal because he was in a hurry to return home. They departed after 2100 hours. Mr Marek W. offered to show them the way to the road leading to Torun. And that was what he did.

"I learned of the incident as late as on Saturday evening, after the daily TV news broadcast, when others told me about it.

"On Sunday at 1400 hours I dispatched a telegram to the Torun Province Office of Internal Affairs to the effect that I had some information on the Rev Popieluszko, precisely the information I've stated here."

Prosecutor: "Were there any telephone calls prior to the Rev Popieluszko's arrival?"

The Rev O.: "Yes, and I answered that the Rev Popieluszko was coming. There were several such phone calls, which was a rare event. Some of the callers I knew and others I didn't."

Prosecutor: "Were there any strange calls?"

The Rev O.: "One call was quite strange because of the way the question about the Rev Popieluszko was worded. I didn't answer that question. When I asked, 'Who's speaking?' the answer was lapidary, and hence I said nothing more and hung up."

Prosecutor: "The witness is a vicar. Did the witness previously inform anyone about the coming of the Rev Popieluszko?"

The Rev O.: "I informed the curate."

Prosecutor: "Did the reverend curate make any comments concerning the visit by the Rev Popieluszko or by other persons on the area of the church or the rectory?"

The Rev O.: "Following the Holy Mass a group of people came to the rectory. They wanted the Rev Popieluszko to speak to them, to say a few words to them, and the curate was upset because that group entered the rectory. I knew a few of these people."

Prosecutor: "Well, who was there?"

The Rev O.: "People I know."

Prosecutor: "But were Rulewski and Tokarczuk also there?"

The Rev O.: "Yes, among others."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did these persons want to talk with the Rev Popieluszko?"

The Rev O.: "Yes."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did they talk?"

The Rev O.: "They entered the apartment. The Rev Jerzy was eating while they talked to him. They stayed for about 15 minutes, because the Rev Popieluszko was in a hurry to leave."

Attorney Grabinski: "Did any incidents or unrest occur following the prayer service?"

The Rev O.: "No such thing happened."

Attorney Wende: "After supper did the Rev Popieluszko stay there all the time?"

The Rev O.: "Yes."

Attorney Wende: "Did the Rev Popieluszko preach a sermon?"

The Rev O.: "Yes, it was a rosary sermon."

18 January 1985, 15th Day of the Trial

Testimony of Witness Janusz D., 43 Years Old, MSW Employee:

"Toward the end of September or beginning of October--as I now know from press accounts, it was on 9 October--Leszek W. and Jozef B. visited our section. They were invited by Grzegorz Piotrowski. He had also called me to his office, and we began to discuss the extrareligious political activities of the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko. That conversation lasted 15 minutes. During the conversation I left the room several times as I had urgent duties to attend to. During that conversation, Grzegorz Piotrowski telephoned Adam Pietruszka and said that W. was there. After awhile, Leszek W. and Grzegorz Piotrowski

went to see Adam Pietruszka. From the fact of that conversation ensued that I and B. were to remain in the room, and this is what happened.

"About 15 minutes later Leszek W. and Grzegorz Piotrowski returned. They didn't tell us the subject of their conversation with Adam Pietruszka. They exchanged several general remarks on professional matters, whereupon Leszek W. and Jozef B. left and I returned to my office.

"In turn, on 13 October, Saturday, when I arrived in my office, I saw under an ashtray a note from Grzegorz Piotrowski informing me that he had to make an urgent out-of-town trip. He wrote that Chmielewski left with him, Leszek Pekala was sick, and he himself would return in the afternoon and that Pietruszka knew about his trip. That was also Grzegorz Piotrowski's way of informing me that he took the car, and that was how I understood it. There was always that principle that one of us was to stay in the office and my presence on that day was required considering that that Saturday was a workday for me. Grzegorz Piotrowski was able to travel out of town. I read that note and destroyed it in the shredder.

"After 1030 hours I received a report that on that day the Rev Popieluszko was traveling to Gdansk [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).] In this connection I asked Jozef Z., who was in charge of the Gdansk desk, to come to my office and asked him what he knew on that subject. He answered that he knew nothing but would telephone and check. After some time he said that there was no one in Gdansk and he couldn't verify that report. I, however, thought it an important report which I should bring to the attention of some one of the department's heads.

"I called the secretary shared by Gen P. and Adam Pietruszka and asked if either of them was present. The secretary answered that neither was in at the moment and that they would arrive later. In this connection, we went to another director in order to acquaint him with that report. When we saw him, that director told us that the general or Adam Pietruszka should arrive within 15 or so minutes and that this report should be conveyed to them. He also regarded it as an important report. I and Z. returned to my office, and thence I called the secretary and asked her to let me know the moment one of the directors would return. After awhile Gen P. called and asked whether I was looking for him. I said yes, because I had important information. He ordered me to come. Then I said I would, together with Z.

"I came to his office and told him the reason for my visit. The general interrupted me, called Adam Pietruszka and, when the latter arrived, I repeated my report from the beginning. As I kept speaking, Adam Pietruszka interrupted me and accused me of going over his head to see the general about some nonsense. He said so, and he also claimed that he had information that the Rev Popieluszko was on the spot in Warsaw. I felt uncomfortable in such a situation and left the office, which was left by Z. even earlier. I returned to my office, called my informant, and he reassured me that the priest certainly did after all travel to Gdansk. After awhile Adam Pietruszka called

me and again berated me for bearing such unfounded nonsense to Gen P. Then I answered that Director Pietruszka lied to the general, because my information about that trip was reliable. Then Pietruszka hung up. On Monday 15 October I told Grzegorz Piotrowski about it, but Grzegorz Piotrowski made a gesture of dismissal and told me not to be upset about it."

Presiding judge: "Did you obtain proof that you were right?"

Witness: "Yes, only on Monday. So far as 19 October is concerned, on that day I was sent to Gdansk. The decision was transmitted to me by Grzegorz Piotrowski on behalf of Adam Pietruszka. I didn't discuss the subject directly with Director Adam Pietruszka. I traveled to Gdansk with two associates from other sections, not belonging to our department, in their car."

Presiding judge: "Grzegorz Piotrowski told the witness that he had already traveled to Gdansk."

Witness: "He told me nothing about this."

Presiding judge: "To whom did the witness report after returning?"

Witness: "I reported on Monday 22 October to Grzegorz Piotrowski."

Presiding judge: "But other facts also occurred on 22 October."

Witness: "On Monday 22 or Tuesday 23 October Grzegorz Piotrowski notified me that he had received information urgently requiring Pekala's trip to Nowy Sacz. At the time he informed me of this, Pekala had not yet arrived at the office. We agreed that whoever of us would see Pekala first would inform him that a case in Nowy Sacz necessitated his going there. Grzegorz Piotrowski, as I gathered, was convinced of the urgency of that trip. Pekala arrived while I was in Grzegorz Piotrowski's office. I told Pekala that there seemed to be an urgent case in Nowy Sacz requiring his trip there and instructed him to call Nowy Sacz and verify it. Pekala called Nowy Sacz and said that, to be sure, the case was important, but his trip was not necessary at the moment. In such a situation I called Adam Pietruszka and asked him whether Pekala should go or not. I called him because Grzegorz Piotrowski was away. Pietruszka inquired about some details which I didn't know, and I said that Pekala was with me and he could answer, because he was more familiar with the case, and I gave the receiver to Pekala so he could explain it personally. Pekala talked with Adam Pietruszka and thereupon told me that Director Pietruszka said that he didn't have to go.

"On the day on which Grzegorz Piotrowski was arrested, i.e., on Tuesday, in the afternoon, apparently on the same day when, in the morning, the question of Pekala's trip was discussed, Gen P. called and asked me to summon all the present employees of the section and go with them to Pietruszka's office. We all, except those on out-of-town assignments, gathered there. After awhile Deputy Minister C. and Gen P. arrived. The deputy minister informed us that Grzegorz Piotrowski was arrested and asked all those present to write statements describing their activities on 19 October. Gen P. instructed me to

collect these statements and bring them to him at 1500 hours. That was the end of the meeting. We all returned to our offices, and each began to write his statement, I too. I had been instructed to receive the statements from the other employees. When they arrived, I counted the number of statements and found that every employee present had provided them. I took the statements and carried them to the office of Gen P., where I found only Adam Pietruszka and one other deputy director. I told Adam Pietruszka that, in accordance with the instruction, I brought the statements.

"Pietruszka began to examine them and picked out the statement of Barbara S., which, as I found later, was two pages long; that was one of the longest statements. He began to read it and declared that that statement was too long, that no one would read it, and crossed out with a marker pen a passage which, he declared, explained nothing and was redundant. That passage consisted of several lines. He instructed me to return the statement to Barbara S. and ask her to delete the unnecessary lines. There were several such lines. I partly remember their purport. They contained the information that on 19 October Grzegorz Piotrowski, on leaving, said that if anyone looked for him, he should contact Adam Pietruszka who knew where he was and what he was doing. Anyhow, Pietruszka returned all the statements to me and instructed me to see Barbara S. about deleting that crossed-out passage from the statement, and to destroy that old statement after writing a new statement.

"I went downstairs, asked Barbara S. to come to my office and transmitted Adam Pietruszka's instruction to her. Since the expression on Barbara S.'s face was that of mistrust, and she looked at me with such incredulity, I called Adam Pietruszka in her presence and said that Barbara S. was with me and asked whether she should delete only that crossed-out passage from her statement or perhaps also other unnecessary passages. The answer was that that passage had to be deleted. I deliberately moved the receiver away from my ear so that Barbara S. could hear Pietruszka's instruction, so as to dispel her doubts. After she had signed the new statement, I returned to the office of Gen P., where Adam Pietruszka was waiting, and brought him all the statements, which he again perused. First of all, he read the statement of Barbara S. He declared that something like that could happen. Then he scrutinized the other statements.

"Among these, he suddenly picked out the statement of Zbigniew S.; it was the longest next to that of Barbara S. And, as in the statement of Barbara S., he crossed out a passage. He ordered that a new statement be written and the old destroyed. Even earlier, of course in accordance with the instruction received from Pietruszka, I had destroyed the old statement of Barbara S. Again I collected all the statements. I summoned S. to my office and conveyed to him the order of [Deputy] Director Pietruszka to write a new statement in which the crossed-out passage would be absent. That passage stated that when Grzegorz Piotrowski was leaving the office on 19 October, he said in the presence of S. that Director Adam Pietruszka knew where he was going. After S. had written the new statement, I destroyed his old statement and went to the office of Gen P., where Pietruszka was waiting. He looked through all the statements and told me to leave them with me. The first time I had seen

Pietruszka, it was in the presence of another deputy director who all the time kept either reading something or jotting something down; at any rate, he looked busy and couldn't have heard our conversation.

"On 23 October, the day of his arrest, Grzegorz Piotrowski said that he had problems, because he had been gathering mushrooms in the environs of Bydgoszcz and must write a statement on that subject. That conversation was in the morning. All the statements we, including myself, had written, were written in the afternoon. As to whether Chmielewski and Pekala were present and working on that day, I can't recall that and I don't know whether they too wrote statements."

Prosecutor: "In your section did it happen that you both would be absent?"

Witness: "Generally, either one of us, either the section chief or I, had to be on duty in the office. If exceptions from this rule had to be made, this could only happen with the permission of our superior."

Prosecutor: "On 19 October who, you or he, was scheduled to be on duty at the office?"

Witness: "As far as I know, Piotrowski. I thought that Grzegorz Piotrowski should be on duty that day, because I was sent to Gdansk."

Prosecutor: "Did Grzegorz Piotrowski know that you were going to Gdansk?"

Witness: "Yes, he did."

Prosecutor: "Could Grzegorz Piotrowski afford such an insubordination? Could he arbitrarily absent himself from his office?"

Witness: "In my opinion, no."

Attorney Olszewski: "The witness held the post of deputy chief. Did it often happen that the witness deputized for Grzegorz Piotrowski the entire day?"

Witness: "Such instances did occur."

Attorney Olszewski: "In such instances, was the witness in contact with Adam Pietruszka all day, and how often?"

Witness: "That depended on circumstances. I was in contact with him several times or a score of times."

Attorney Olszewski: "Could a situation happen in which the deputy director would fail to notice that both the chief and the deputy chief of the section were absent?"

Witness: "In my opinion, no."

Attorney Olszewski: "Has it ever happened that the witness took an out-of-town trip, failed to perform the purpose of his trip, returned and reported that he didn't perform his task, because he arbitrarily decided to undertake another task, which he also failed to perform? And what was the reaction of his superiors?"

Witness: "It did happen at times that I failed to perform a task. In such cases I provided an explanation of my failure and most often received a reprimand from my superior."

Attorney Olszewski: "I mean a situation in which a task is both not performed and arbitrarily altered. What would be the reaction?"

Witness: "I consider this to be a most grave infraction of duties."

Attorney Olszewski: "In such an instance would a lack of reaction from the superior be normal?"

Witness: "I haven't encountered any such instances. I myself as a [deputy section] chief would evaluate it negatively."

Attorney Olszewski: "Has the witness observed in Grzegorz Piotrowski any proneness to fantasizing, mythomania, distortion of facts?"

Witness: "I didn't notice anything like that. I considered him to be an alert person."

Attorney Olszewski: "In view of this, what is the opinion of the witness about Grzegorz Piotrowski's statement that, during that conversation, D. said that he, D., could find several persons who would take part in the intimidation operation?"

Witness: "No such conversation took place. This subject was not raised."

Attorney Wende: "Was the matter of the Rev Popieluszko an important matter to your section?"

Witness: "I myself didn't handle this matter. It was handled by Grzegorz Piotrowski, and it is difficult for me to say whether this was a priority matter."

Attorney Wende: "But you went to the director with the report on the priest's trip. You considered this to be important information, while Pietruszka rejected it as nonsense. At the time, what was the reaction of Gen P. to it?"

Witness: "There was no reaction from Gen P."

Attorney Wende: "In what manner was the writing of those statements ordered?"

Witness: "The instruction itself was issued by Deputy Minister C."

Attorney Wende: "Does the witness remember the wording of the instruction of Deputy Minister C.?"

Witness: "C. placed special emphasis on what activities were performed by every employee on 19 October and on their reporting to this effect."

Attorney Wende: "Did Barbara S. write her statement in accordance with that instruction?"

Witness: "The statement contained details that it had to contain. I felt that Barbara S. and S. wrote their statements in accordance with the instruction."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did you know that the Rev Popieluszko was to be in Bydgoszcz on 19 October? [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]."

Attorney Wende: "Did you ever polemicize with Pietruszka concerning the orders issued?"

Witness: "It is not possible to question orders."

Testimony of Witness Zbigniew S., 33 Years Old, MSW Employee:

Witness Zbigniew S. confirmed the testimony of witness Janusz D. concerning the alteration of the statement on his activities on 19 October, which he had performed at the order of his superior. Next, the witness answered the questions of the parties.

The court made public an excerpt from the pretrial deposition of witness S. stating that D. declared that the statement was too long and, at the express wish of Director Pietruszka, the latter's name was to be deleted from the statement.

Witness: "Yes, I affirm my deposition."

Attorney Wende: "Didn't D.'s order represent a change of the order issued by the [deputy] minister?"

Witness: "Well, to me it was an order from my immediate superior."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did the witness discuss this happening with Barbara S. or anyone else?"

Witness: "Yes, I talked with Barbara S., but I no longer recall what I told her."

Attorney Ilasz: "Why didn't the witness consider that an order from the deputy minister, who instructed him to write a complete statement, was more important than an order from Deputy Director Pietruszka? What were the thoughts of the witness at that time?"

Presiding judge: "Well, he might have thought that after all Pietruszka was his superior. If you, Mr Attorney, were to receive an order from your director, would you fail to execute that order, and would you alter it? You would do what your immediate superior orders you."

Attorney Marczuk: "Who directed the meeting at which the writing of the statements was ordered?"

Witness: "Deputy Minister C. and Director P. were present."

Attorney Marczuk: "When did the witness learn that Grzegorz Piotrowski was arrested?"

Witness: "Precisely at that meeting. The deputy minister told us."

Next, the presiding judge read a plea for evidence from the defendant Pietruszka, who requested that the Ministry of Internal Affairs be asked to provide information on all the channels through which passed the information obtained from the militiamen in Bydgoszcz who had recorded the KZC-series license plate number of the car seen outside the rectory.

Defendant Pietruszka: "The reason for my plea is to establish when and through what successive channels did that information arrive, and whether I was able to avail earlier myself of that information."

Presiding judge: "The witnesses G. and L. will testify on this subject."

Attorney Marczuk: "I petition Your Honors to decide on that plea following the cross-examination of the witnesses G. and L. Thereupon we can decide whether a cross-examination of the militia witnesses will be necessary."

In addition the court read a note concerning the Rev Zych that has been added to the dossier of the case. It ensues from that note that the Rev Zych was accused of being an accomplice to the crime of the robbery of guns during a bandit attack on soldiers of the Polish Army. For his participation and aid in that crime, he was sentenced to the combined penalty of 6 years of deprivation of freedom. His sentence is to expire in March 1988. The presiding judge omitted a passage concerning negative statements about the Rev Zych, but he read the remainder of that note, from which it ensues that the Rev Zych is being held at the Braniew Penal Institution and that there he is provided with the conditions for attending to religious practices, has all the objects needed to perform prayer services, is held in a one-person cell, wears his own civilian clothing, avails himself of his own shaving implements and moreover, in addition to the regular prescribed visits and correspondence, he is allowed to meet with priests from the Curia and receive additional mail from ecclesiastical authorities. What is more, not only is he enabled to celebrate the mass in his cell but also, every 2 weeks, he celebrates a common mass for the entire prison. Furthermore, the note contained the statement that the Episcopate has requested a special act of pardon for the Rev Zych as well as

his release from the penal institution and transfer to a closed facility, inaccessible to civilians, where only clergymen are held.

In this connection, the presiding judge declared that the defendant Piotrowski's request concerning the Rev Zych is, in the light of that note, inapplicable, because the matter has already been sufficiently cleared up.

Next, the presiding judge read the defendant Piotrowski's plea for evidence request in which he requested that the Ministry of Internal Affairs be asked to provide information about the transfer of Solidarity funds for the Mazowsze Region to the account of the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko, as well as about the procedure and manner in which these funds were disposed of, and eventually for an opinion on the receipts for these funds and criminological expertises concerning the authorship of these receipts. Moreover, the defendant Piotrowski requested that the ministry be asked to provide information on the conduct of the Rev Popieluszko after 21 July, that is, after the Amnesty. He also requested that the ministry be asked to provide the documents it has concerning the activities of Bishop Ignacy T. during the German occupation. Furthermore, he requested that it provide information about: tax and customs exemptions provided to the Catholic Church in Poland; the upbringing of youth by the Church in "oases" and within the clerical academic community, the custody exercised by Archbishop G. over Solidarity funds for the Lower Silesian Region; and illegal construction of places of worship.

Defendant Piotrowski: "I affirm my plea. In my opinion, all this material may shed light on my motives and my emotional state relating to the case being now tried."

Prosecutor: "I see no reasons against acceding to this plea. I'm not opposed to the acceptance of this plea by this court."

Attorney Wende protested and declared that, in the light of the note read by the court, it can be seen that the defendant Piotrowski offered in bad faith the information on the Rev Zych to the court. As for all the other information requested, it is intended to alter the course of the process and place the Episcopate or its members on trial. In this connection, for reasons of principle, he is opposed to this plea.

Attorney Grabinski declared that he is opposed for procedural reasons, because the material requested by the defendant Piotrowski is in no way an acceptable evidence. It can be only working material. Evidence can consist only of official documents or testimonies of witnesses and persons, rather than of some information or working material on which the court can in no way base itself. "Were the defendant's plea sustained, we would have to examine all the evidence linked to that plea and cross-examine an entire new set of witnesses all this material, i.e., in the form of appropriate documents and witness testimonies. The evidence requested by Piotrowski does not serve to demonstrate the guilt of the defendants, and it does not even serve to demonstrate the feelings of Piotrowski regarding the case being tried in this court; rather, it merely serves to alter the entire direction of the trial.

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]."

Attorney Olszewski: "I support the request of the preceding speakers, and I wish to add two points to justify it. I wish to express my astonishment at the position of the prosecutor's office, because in my opinion the plea of Grzegorz Piotrowski exceeds the scope of permissible defense at this trial. I don't question the fact of the accumulation of such material by Grzegorz Piotrowski. But if we admit such material here, we will find ourselves in a situation in which we would have to determine the principles on which the accumulation of such material is based. Another inconsistency is that a determination of the validity of exemptions of some or other parties from customs duties would affect personally Grzegorz Piotrowski himself, because the dossiers of the present case contain various reports, documents and depositions concerning the failure of Grzegorz Piotrowski to pay customs ~~regular~~ duties. We hadn't previously demanded that this information be made public, believing that this has no bearing on the present trial, even though this matter is specified in the bill of indictment itself. That is why, for these two reasons, I'm opposed to this plea."

Attorney Ilasz: "This plea by the defendant Piotrowski is important in two respects: the first is the determination of the motives of his action and the second is the rebuttal of the accusations that his statements depart from truth. And precisely this request is intended to demonstrate that he had such knowledge, and that he was prompted by Pietruszko. And therefore I petition that this plea be acceded to."

The attorneys Graczyk, Pubanc and Marczuk petitioned that the plea be sustained by the court.

Prosecutor: "An important problem at this trial is the problem of guilt; the motivation of deeds also is of essential importance. That's why I stated that this plea is within the rights of the defendant to defend himself. However, not all the questions raised in this plea may have a bearing on the present trial. Properly speaking, only the elements concerning the Rev Popieluszko can have a bearing on the present trial. In this connection, only those parts of this plea for information from the MSW which concern the person of the Rev Popieluszko are admissible evidence. As for the other parts of the plea, they have no bearing on this trial. Even if there is some information on those other topics, it would broaden the trial's scope too extensively. Considering all this, I leave this plea to the court to decide upon."

Attorney Wende: "It is obvious that the motives of the perpetrator of a crime of this kind have to be established. But my impression is that he himself has stated these motives, and quite explicitly at that."

Attorney Grabinski: "Now that I've heard these proposals, I wish to share with you the shock that I feel. The fact is that the competent state authorities have granted customs or tax exemptions to the Church and its charitable institutions. Yet this is cited as evidence of the motives from which the

defendant has acted. This is frightening. This would mean undermining the decisions of state agencies. This is an attempt to impose on the state, on the entire state and its agencies at that, the point of view of a single individual. Instead of prime evidence, operational material is offered. Such proceedings would be, properly speaking, directed against the state authorities."

Defendant Piotrowski: "It's not true that I'm looking for some justification of murder, because it's not true that I committed a murder. I never intended to commit a murder. What happened stemmed from a concatenation of circumstances. I never said that the Rev Zych already was in a monastery. I merely said that such was the state of the talks in October and offered the assumption that he might be in a monastery. Besides, the point is not any subjective feeling of my guilt but that other party's subjective feeling of impunity."

After a conference, the court announced that the problem of the motives of deed is unusually important in this courtroom. It is obvious that every punishable crime must be considered from this standpoint. It is obvious that such an action may be based on and linked to the activities of the victim who may have contributed to prompting that action. And the criminal activities of the Rev Popieluszko could, as it were, have prompted that deed, and hence also his conduct has to be examined, which this court has been doing from the outset. All the other points raised in the plea transcend the scope of this trial. For precisely these reasons the court has decided not to admit in its entirety the plea of the defendant Piotrowski.

Testimony of the Witness N., L., 44 Years Old, Catholic Priest:

"On 19 October 1984 at around 2200 or 2230 hours I was in my apartment with a colleague. I heard the doorbell ring. Since it often is rung at night, I came out of my apartment and saw a man who wanted to talk with a priest. That was a normal occurrence to me. Nearby was parked an ambulance. Sometimes elderly people ask to speak with me. I descended the stairs. I saw a civilian who said he wanted to speak with a priest. I was not wearing a cassock, so he could not know that I was a priest. He also said that the Rev Popieluszko was abducted and should be rescued. Then I asked him to my office and there I noticed his horrible appearance, like that of a scarecrow. He was dirt-stained, tattered and bruised. He said that he was driving the Rev Popieluszko. They were stopped by a militiaman. I was surprised to learn from him that the militiaman stopped him in a forested area which I knew to be completely deserted. I was surprised that he did stop there. He explained that he stopped at the request of the Rev Popieluszko. They were approached by a uniformed militiaman who asked for his papers and told him to walk over to the other car for a sobriety check. When he approached that other car, he was pushed inside and gagged. Then, he continued, these men returned to the priest, dragged him to the Fiat, to its rear. Next, he heard the sound of dull blows. When I asked him whether they did or didn't place the priest in the car, he answered that he wasn't certain, that they might have abandoned him in the forest. Besides, his account was chaotic; over and over again he asked for help in rescuing the priest. I asked him to repeat his account, because I wanted to establish

certain facts. It was difficult to determine just where the incident took place.

"Later I asked him to prove his identity. He had no I.D. He said that it was taken from him. He showed me his labor pass from the CPN [Petroleum Industry Center]. I examined it and even questioned him about his birthdate. As he took that pass from his pocket, he also took out a bloodied cord with which he had been gagged. I asked him to leave that cord with me and later I surrendered it to the militiamen. Then an ambulance attendant entered and urged us to hurry up as it was time to go to the emergency ward. That conversation lasted about 5-8 minutes. He wanted to stay with me, but I told him to go, because he was the first and sole witness. I even asked the ambulance attendant to watch over him vigilantly. Then they left.

"After their departure I telephoned the militia emergency ward and reported on what happened to the militiaman on duty, on stressing that the abduction was done by men in militia uniforms. The militiaman on duty said that someone from the militia was already on the spot but couldn't find the car anywhere. I gave him him a more precise location of the spot, as given to me by Mr Ch. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)].

"Later I and the colleague who was visiting me drove to Gorski. We drove slowly, watching the road, which by then was completely empty of traffic. Finally we reached the Golf, near which already stood two militiamen and a patrol car was parked. We introduced ourselves to them and said that we are clergymen. They answered that some kind of attack happened there. We even wanted to search for the priest in the forest, but they advised us against it because bandits might lurk there. So we kept walking on the highway and calling the priest, hoping that he might show himself to us on hearing us. But there was no response. So we bade goodby to these militiamen and returned home."

Judge Maciejewski: "Reverend, when witness Ch. entered your place, was his clothing torn? How did he look?"

The Rev N.: "The skirt of his coat was ripped off and he was terribly tattered, ragged, bruised, with wounds in his side and on his face, with bloodied hands, and he distinctly limped."

Judge Maciejewski: "What happened to that cord?"

The Rev N.: "The cord remained with me and later I surrendered it to the prosecutor, in the presence of militiamen."

Judge M.: "Did the Reverend notify the Curia?"

The Rev N.: "No, because even the militiaman to whom I mentioned my duty of notifying my superiors about all this advised me against it because the abductors might be tapping my phone."

Prosecutor: "While on the scene of the accident, did the witness see one or two patrol cars?"

The Rev N.: "Only one."

Prosecutor: "When the Reverend saw Ch., did the latter wear handcuffs?"

The Rev N.: "Yes, I saw handcuffs dangling from his left wrist. [-----]
[Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment,
Article 2, No 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW
No 44, Item 204)]."

1386

CSO: 2600/593

POLAND

PROCEDURES, CHANGES FOR SEJM ELECTIONS DEBATED

Opinion Sharing Forum

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 3, 19 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Gebethner]

[Text] The announcement of the provisions of the election regulations for the Sejm marked the beginning of a 10-week public debate on the final draft of the future election law. This will thus be a time for general debate, 6 weeks longer than last year during the consultations for the regulations for the people's councils. Hopefully this time the debate will not only last longer, but will be different than before. This time, in the provisions submitted to the public there are 11 parts with variant procedures. What is needed here is a genuine discussion which must include the factual arguments both pro and con, and the reasons for various procedures must be freely expressed. In these instances we must compare different situations. For a reasonable procedure may arise precisely from future discussions which show the weak or strong sides of each of the variants. Only in such a discussion can we get to the heart of the problem.

And now in the provisions announced, aside from questions with several variants represented, there are matters which, as one might expect, raise controversies and problems, on which greater differences in views are becoming apparent. We may expect such problems as the alphabetical order of the list of candidates or guarantees of the secrecy of the act of voting to return like a boomerang. And this is where a public exchange of views, even bitter polemics, is necessary, in order to clear up all doubts which might arise from mistaken interpretations of the doctrinal political limitations of the scope of the election reform.

In this connection, bearing in mind last year's experiences with the climat of public debate, I would like to emphasize that I am fully aware of the importance of political reasons, particularly the interest of the state or reason of state. Obviously, one could debate what reason of state consists of. However, I find it difficult to agree with the interpretation of reason of state according to which it consists of the interests of a specific person or narrow group of people. For me, the

highest reason, which determines the worth of any element in the system of elections, is whether it weakens or strengthens the mechanism of exercising authority, and hence the political system. Election procedures must be so planned as to strengthen the authority of the Sejm and counteract the natural tendency toward the alienation of authority. That is one of the lessons of our crises. At the same time the reform must be kept within the constitutional framework of the principles of the political system.

I am speaking (not for the first time on election reform) at the beginning of the public debate. I am doing this not as a sponsor (or author) of the provisions, nor as their main critic. I am speaking (at the request of the editors) as a commentator presenting my own point of view as well. Nor am I trying to give grades or assess anything according to an academic scale. Even though I have no reason to be enthusiastic, I cannot give an unequivocal answer to the first impression on reading the text of the provisions.

If anyone wants to consider the relationship between the present provisions and the mandatory regulations for the Sejm, there are now being proposed a few changes in the right direction. For example, section 62 says that "an office can be filled during the term of the Sejm only through supplementary elections."

I agree with the intention of the provisions' authors, that is, to put an end to the practice of filling vacant seats according to the procedure set in 1969. This has been rightly criticized many times. However, I would not narrowly interpret the principle of filling vacant seats of the parliament during its term as meaning exclusively supplementary elections. The institution of regional lists could be useful here.

I also consider that getting away from an artificially high ceiling for the universality of voting (fully justified in local elections) would be effective and appropriate. I am thinking particularly of doing away with certificates of the right to vote, which until now have been issued to everyone, and thus to persons who on election day happen temporarily to be in an electoral district which is not their place of permanent residence. This shows (as much as is objectively possible) a correct tendency to depart from the plebiscitary character of elections. Thus, to be consistent, for section 7 of the provisions I would support variant 1, by which citizens who are abroad would not take part in elections.

The procedure used until now of assigning persons outside the country to district No 1 of downtown Warsaw is very artificial. That would logically fit only in a concept of elections as exclusively plebiscitary. The implementation of the procedure of citizens' protests (taking into account the special constitutional position of the Sejm) should also be welcomed. Here I support the first variant of section 54 of the provisions (every elector may declare a protest). For what is important here is not the interests of individual electors, but guaranteeing the legality of the act

of voting. Thus the *actio popularis* construction is fully justified. On the other hand, I strongly oppose copying procedures from the regulations for the people's councils and leaving the final decision on the validity of an election in the hands of the Supreme Court, and not, as hitherto, with the Sejm. It is not so much the wording of article 21 of the Second Constitution that stands in the way. That rule can ultimately be changed. However, that would mean a thorough change of institutional doctrine--with respect to the position of the Sejm in our political system.

In view of the above, I would like to point out a certain essential aspect of the proposals contained in the provisions with variants. Under this article it is difficult to deal with all the variants. However, I would not like to belittle their importance. They only seem to affect matters of secondary importance. Obviously they are not all of equal importance. Thus the number of deputies is more important than the hours of the polling places.

My primary concern is a problem of a general nature, namely whether the election law reform will be carried out within the framework set by the Constitution, whether it will also affect the Fundamental Law. If we accept the latter, then article 96 of the Constitution requires a broader revision with a view to bringing it into conformity with section 1 of the provisions. Also, the institution of electoral assemblies should be consistent with the Fundamental Law. Therefore we should carefully consider the problem of amending article 100 of the Constitution.

The problem is one of constitutional legality. Regardless of whether the Constitutional Tribunal begins work in a month, half a year or a year from now, nobody can be exempted from the obligation of keeping track of the consistency of the Fundamental Law and ordinary laws.

I would be inclined to favor lowering the voting age to 18 years. I also favor changing the number of deputies to the Sejm. However, my proposal would be aimed in the opposite direction from that proposed in section 9 of the provisions.

I would require reducing the number of deputies to 444 (which is also in keeping with the traditions of the Constitution of March 1921). For it is certainly not the case that the more numerous a parliament is, the more effective and wiser it is. But above all I consider that after convening the Socioeconomic Council in the Sejm, the number and representativity of the membership (regardless of how these bodies arise) would not suffer at all. Quite the contrary, it would benefit. I would then even propose electing 111, i.e., 25 percent, of the deputies from the regional lists.

It must be clearly stated that the critical points of every electoral system are the way of running for office and the way of electing representatives.

In this second matter the provisions propose a new procedure. This is first of all electoral regions with electoral lists. There is no need to conceal the fact that for many years I have been an advocate of instituting regional lists. Based on basic doctrinal views I would oppose proposals for introducing into our electoral system a state list. The problem is not that the regional lists should be registered exclusively for the purpose of announcing candidates of national importance, persons from the front pages of the newspapers. It is something more: that these deputies represent the interests and needs of the electors in a broader sense, on the super-provincial and national level, that they should oppose any local particularism which might be introduced by locally elected officials in the districts.

But the most important thing is that the means of electing deputies in the electoral districts and regions must be completely different. If the changes are only cosmetic and not basic, then there is no reason to single out the electoral regions.

I don't want to get into the technical details now. But generally speaking, I think one could agree that voting cards which mention all the candidates by name should not be given for the regional lists. In place of voting by name we could introduce voting for a list en bloc and link this with voting for candidates announced in the districts. Regardless of the technical means of voting for regional lists, I see no need to announce a greater number of candidates on these lists (either with half or twice the number). Instead, this list must include a certain number of candidates to replace (or rather succeed) the deputies. The membership of the Sejm might be supplemented during its term from this group.

On the other hand, in the electoral districts where deputies (for lack of a better term, I would call them locals) run, they must be given equal chances with at least two (but not only two) candidates running for each office. This would genuinely implement the requirement set by the First Congress of the PRON. Furthermore, I assert that this purpose would best be served by one-seat districts. After instituting the concept of pairs of candidates for each office in elections for the people's councils, I see no reason why we could not make the transition straight to one-seat districts with several registered candidates in elections for the Sejm. I consider the procedure adopted for elections to the people's councils temporary and insufficient. For the Sejm elections in particular it has many faults and weak sides from the point of view of political parties as well. This procedure, in spite of its innovativeness, is highly artificial. For we know from the experience of the years 1956 to 1961 (though we are not always fully aware of it) that in the process of democratizing the electoral system it is impossible to stop half-way. That threatens (as we learned especially in the 1970's) an even greater emasculation of the vote and its basic sociopolitical functions, it becomes its own antithesis and adds to the deepening alienation of authority.

With the one-seat districts (regardless of whether there are regional lists) the political basis of the coalition formula of our party system and, closely related to it, the leading role of the PZPR, could be equally well achieved.

At the same time, the transition to the system of one-seat districts does not obviate the problem of the names of the candidates. I also oppose the principle of legally giving preference to the candidate listed first. It is the electors themselves who should decide whom they see first of all as representing them in the Sejm.

It is true that in elections to the people's councils last year only a relatively small percentage of voters exercised the right to vote for the second candidate (by crossing out the name of the first). This does not by any means mean that I am proposing a procedure which the masses do not want at all, which is only a lot of intellectual-academic raving. One could, however, suggest another answer to the question of why the voters behaved as they did in 1984. Namely that under the system of legal preference for the first candidate some of the voters may have felt themselves limited in their ability to participate actively in the act of voting, not exercising the right to cross out names.

I have deliberately not touched upon the manner of choosing candidates. Unfortunately, at present the field for maneuver seems limited. Certain aspects of this problem are worth discussing. In this context I would like to share one idea of mine. I think elections in one-seat districts with several candidates should be a kind of compensation to the voters for the limitation, arising from natural causes, on their participation in the process of creating candidates.

Regardless of the final form of the new election regulations, the most important, I would say the key, factor will be the final composition of the ninth term of the Sejm. Whether, how and by how much the number of nonparty deputies increases will also be important, as will the degree to which they will reflect, side by side with the organized political forces, public opinion. But this question of crucial importance will not be solved by the provisions of the election law. Here we are getting into another area of discussion, the position of the Sejm in our political system.

Disagreement Voiced

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 3, 19 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Podemski]

[Text] It is good to require an editor to read an article which is related to his interests or specialty before it goes to press. If the text is written by a prominent expert, this requirement becomes a privilege of reading the article before the reader does. I am taking advantage of the fact that the author of the preceding article calls for an exchange

of views on a question as basic as the future regulations for elections to the Sejm. "Only through such a discussion can we get to the heart of the problem," says Doc Gebethner. And rightly so. Where and why do I disagree with the author? I view at least three of the procedures of the future regulations quite differently.

Is it really necessary to change to one-seat districts in which a genuinely greater number of candidates would compete for one seat, while the districts are already distributed in advance, from above, to various political, social and professional parties and groups? If my electoral district is assigned to the SD, for example, why do I have to choose a deputy only from that party? I have not been convinced by S. Gebethner. On the other hand, I agree with the arguments of a Wroclaw University professor, A. Patrzalek, who wrote as follows in the October issue of PANSTWO I PRAWO:

"Is it necessary, however, to create such a guarantee for parties that even before the elections various districts are assigned to various groups? One may doubt the reliability of that, especially if it took place without consulting the voters. There is no place in Poland for such a procedure, especially when we speak of pluralism, joint management and joint action in emerging from the crisis and in socialist renewal. Moreover, Poland has never had one-seat districts, and such an organization of elections does not fit into the Polish tradition, whose good examples we should follow."

Should the minimum age for deputies be lowered to 18? Here the argument really is academic, but even so, I shall take part in it. According to data of the Sejm, during the present extended term of the Sejm, which is now coming to a close, hardly a dozen or so deputies are less than 30 years old, and only a couple are 25. Will that ratio of 400 to a dozen or so change in the next Sejm? One should hope so, but I see a certain problem here.

In Poland a person remains young until the age of 70, and in politics anyone under 40 is still wet behind the ears. Last year's elections to the people's councils are quite clear. Councilors from 18 to 30 make up 12 percent of the total, and the oldest ones, those over 70, are only 1 percent less (about 11 percent of the total). Considering this old and well-established tradition, I do not think the deputies' benches will suddenly be filled with 20-year-olds. But be that as it may, a certain contradiction remains. A man, according to the family code, which has been in force for 20 years now, can enter into marriage before the age of 21 only with the permission of the court. Can we allow a deputy to decide on matters of development, policy and the state budget, and at the same time have him ask the regional court for permission to found a family or run his own household? Such a comical legal contradiction does not sit well.

I understand the importance of the constitutional principle under which the Sejm finally decides whether to accept or reject election protests. But two things here need to be made clear. Is it right that the body whose election is being contested by the voters should rule on complaints against its composition? Nobody should be the judge in his own case, and there can be no exceptions to this maxim.

Observing lawsuits brought by voters who have questioned elections to their people's councils also provides important material for thought. Hearings are postponed, additional witnesses are heard, lawyers appear in court as authorized voters. This whole complicated procedure has worked (especially in two cases), and can anything better be proposed? A division of functions under which the Supreme Court would only pronounce an opinion on election protests, while the Sejm would give final consideration and prejudge it (as the provisions propose), seems to have only one purpose: to preserve the formal, constitutional right of the Sejm. The whole investigation will have to be left to the court. This is an artificial set-up, and that is what Doc Gebethner so often (and rightly) combats.

What requires the most careful consideration? In my view, what gives the voters an active attitude, arouses their political interests, makes them at least once every 4 years think about the fate of the ship of state, tells us to break with the long-standing tradition and custom of the plebiscite. In short, he must now choose, and no longer simply vote. How necessary this is is shown by observations of last year's elections and reports in the press, to mention only the low attendance at election rallies or their perfunctory character, and also the apparatus which prepared the elections (for example, not keeping to the electoral calendar).

Two sections of the regulations which Doc Gebethner does mention, though he does not delve into them, call for an especially thorough and public discussion. One of them was mentioned by Jerzy Jaskiernia, general secretary of the National Council of the PRON, emphasizing the distance between the PRON and the proposals of the State Council, and the desire to move in the direction initiated by the election law for the people's councils of 13 February 1984. Section 24 of the provisions speaks of "presenting the candidates to society to gather the voters' comments and opinions about them." The regulations for the councils gave the consultative meetings broader authority, including the right to reject candidates the voters do not like. This is such an important difference that it deserves to be dealt with at greater length.

In 1983 the Hungarian parliament approved a new election law to take effect with this year's elections. We are right to envy the Hungarians for what they have done for their country, and willingly learn from their example. Under the new Hungarian law, a candidate for the post of deputy can be nominated at a meeting by any voter, and not only political or social organizations grouped together in the National Patriotic Front. Dr Marta Dezse of Budapest reports on this in the September 1984 issue of PANSTWO I PRAWO: "This change was introduced as a result of a nationwide

discussion and represents a unique compromise between heterogeneous interests in the workplace and the home." Obviously, the situations in Hungary and Poland are different, though Hungary also has its opposition in certain milieux (about which the Hungarian minister of culture will speak in an interview with POLITYKA). However, if such a bold procedure cannot be adopted at present, there are other, indirect procedures possible, similar to the one to be found in DZIENNIK USTAW of last year and which is devoted to people's council elections.

In the second important matter favoring an active attitude on the part of the voter, I refer once again to Professor Patrzalek. He writes as follows about the requirement of secrecy for every vote: "The basis of secrecy is the constitutional feature of the election law. Its present legal form is flawed. What is important is a form of secrecy which does not permit arbitrary interpretation and will not be limited only to insuring technical means. The regulation must provide for an absolute requirement that the voter express his preference in a booth. This procedure should not be feared. Voting in booths does not necessarily lead to scattering of the votes. Election research has shown that when using booths was a bit dangerous, the overwhelming majority of those who used them accepted the preferences proposed by those who announced the list. At the same time such a solution creates an appropriate atmosphere and refutes many arguments of political opponents.... Thus our task in this matter is to develop definite habits among the voters and the administrative and social apparatus which organizes elections."

It is difficult to add anything to this essential and delicate matter. These are my first impressions on reading the provisions of the draft election regulations. The time allotted to discuss them will enable us to think carefully about them, to look at them objectively, and to judge them correctly.

9970
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POLAND

CHANGES IN ELECTORAL LAW NEEDED TO INCREASE PARTICIPATION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 5, 2 Feb 85 p 16

[Article by Andrzej Grzegorczyk: "An Oppositionist's View On Elections To The Sejm"]

[Text] In a discussion called "An Attempt At A Dialogue" which was published in [the PRON weekly] ODRODZENIE No 52/53 last year, I described myself as an oppositionist. POLITYKA repeated this in its own synopsis of that discussion. Below I will continue my argument with reference to one specific matter--the upcoming elections to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. As Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz pointed out in the discussion, the role of oppositionist is almost indispensable and irreplaceable in socialist Poland--though I would add that not all assess it that positively.

Before I proceed to the matter of the elections let me make a few remarks about other things to show what situation we are in at present.

For more than three centuries now, the problems of public life in Poland seem to have been too great for the scope of those who have the disposition (moral, or, more broadly, spiritual) to handle them. People who would be capable of coping with the problems are still too few in able to muster is still too small for the growing problems calling for a solution.

Environmental problems are a good case in question. In West Germany, for example, within a year from now you will find only unleaded petrol at filling stations, and every West German child up to the age of 4 must be examined medically for possible long-term lead poisoning. In that country there are also special containers for various kinds of throw-away food and drink packagings. Glass jars and bottles are disposed of in separate bins with a round hole the size of a jar or bottle. People also recycle old paper knowing that they thereby save their forests. All this is taken care of by town councils who supply the necessary equipment, and citizens remind each other to do so in polite tones. In Poland, however, government bodies are usually in the middle of a reorganization bid, and a lot of effort is required just to get them elected in a reasonable and democratic manner. Democratic ideas here are regarded much more highly than those of cleanliness and order. Everybody demands that his dignity and liberties must be respected, but he litters the surroundings of his home, throws cigarette butts under passing trams and empty

bottles from [alcohol-containing] hair lotion into bushes. On my way home I often mend something in the tram (such as the cover to the door mechanism above the door which is usually loose and clatters when turning curves) and pick up several bottles from hair lotion discarded by drunks. These matters are gradually becoming more than I can manage, and even my closest circle of acquaintances do not really want to get involved. Their usual reply is, that everyday problems claim so much of their time that they cannot manage more, so please will I not create extra work for them!

Maybe, then, it is simply that the challenges of today's life are just too great to be met? Natural selection, which is conducted by history, is increasingly harsh. A huge effort is necessary if the negligences of even the latest periods are ever to be made good. Unless enough people, capable of making such an effort, come forward, then the degradation of this part of the world, of its "substance"--its land, its vegetation, and above all its people--is indeed inevitable.

Late in the 18th century Poland failed to recover well enough to be able to stand up to the political challenges that it faced then and fell as a political entity. However, some small dedicated moral elites have always existed in Poland. But they were too small and this is also true today. The elite of people with good will has many weaknesses and will not resolve the problems the nation is facing until something occurs which will move the mass of the population; unless such a process comes before it is too late, Poland will fail to raise itself again.

You may wonder what all this has in common with the elections to the Sejm. But the two are related. By going to the polls everybody can help increase the number of sensible and honest people in the various bodies that bear the responsibility for our public life. The elections are a collective act in which everybody participates. Everybody makes his decision. You can go to the polls or you can forgo it. If you go, you play a more active role by striking off any names you don't like on the ballot paper. Or you may behave impassively; you may not even bother to read the names, as you don't care about it all but only want your arrival to be noted on the voters' list because only this is important in your strategy for life and anyway you don't believe you have any influence on public affairs. I suspect most citizens are impassive precisely in this way. All possible kinds of propaganda machines may be exhorting people to actively participate in elections, and yet they may fail to influence that intellectual stereotype who nourishes passive attitudes and whose attitude unfortunately is reinforced by numerous inadequacies.

Intellectuals also go to the polls, or don't as the case may be, and they differ from others only by having--and flaunting--neatly phrased theories, whereas other mortals also have their theories (sometimes even more profound ones) yet are less clever dialecticians and so are less brilliant at social get-togethers when they often vainly grope for the correct word. (They may even be unfamiliar with a word such as imponderable, which fits well into this context.)

One extremist champion of one oppositionist intellectual theory argues that elections should implement the principles of democratic coexistence based on full freedom of any group to nominate its candidates, to found its own political party and to launch the kind of propaganda that it deems fits the moment. Only this kind of full electoral freedom reflects genuine respect for every citizen. As long as this total electoral freedom is missing, it really does not matter whether rubbish is disposed of, whether or not trains travel according to the time-table etc, because the whole society is heading in the wrong direction anyway. Democratic devices only can create orderliness and punctuality on railroads, and without them corruption, exploitation, privileges and all kinds of injustice are bound to thrive.

Let me say this on the above theory. I don't fully subscribe to it, only partly. In my view, it is correct in its first part. I too believe that the ideal which best safeguards equality of, and respect for, all citizens is their full freedom to found political parties, and that the country in which we live is not an ideal one and that it is far from this idea. However, I do not consider it true to say there is no point in joining this form of public life even though at this time this ideal is not being put into practice, and no change for the better can be expected.

If there was any chance of organizing society in keeping with the democratic ideal, then I might even agree that it would be better for us to perish in a common grave whispering the very democratic pledge "Let's all love each other" and sharing equally our last loaf of bread rather than to survive without justice and mutual respect, the two values which take shape precisely in democratic institutions. I would recognize such a choice, if there was a chance of democratic organization within Poland, in which all democratic ideals would be implemented. However, no such chance exists in Poland, and I am going to say why in a moment. But let me first raise my second objection, namely that it is not true that democracy alone improves things. After the French Revolution, internal order in France was best served, not by democracy, but by Napoleon I. The struggle for democracy in France lasted throughout the 19th century, but order was often introduced by force by those who happened to be in power at the time and were supposedly wiser than others.

So, ideal democracy appears often not to be a utilitarian value but a separate value, a value in itself which gives you personal satisfaction for which you often may have to pay a sadly high price. Why such an ideal should stand no chance here is a problem which has many causes. Maybe I will have an opportunity to write about this later.

How can one there use one's influence on getting more sensible people into the Sejm? This can be done in two stages, i.e. in that of nominating candidates and during the election itself. During the election you can do this by striking off all candidates you object to. Naturally, to do this in a responsible way you need to take at least some interest in those candidates.

The important thing is to get sensible and honest people, i.e. people whose names can safely be left on the ballot, onto election tickets. Since only a few organizations are allowed to nominate candidates, you ought to persuade

your acquaintances and friends to nominate good candidates from within their own ranks to those organizations. Finally, let me draw your attention to what I think is especially important. PRON can nominate, not only its own candidates, but also people who belong to none of the organizations entitled to nominate candidates. This enables PRON to propose people who may even be adversaries of PRON itself but who are honest and sensible enough for their possible work as Sejm deputies to be valuable. Hereby I call upon PRON to nominate such "stray" candidates for every constituency.

Finally, I also call upon the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic to pass the electoral law in a different form than the one submitted. Specifically, I propose that the present project be combined with the old electoral law. The present project establishes a list of as many pairs of candidates as there are seats to be won in a given constituency. Before, there were no pairs only individual candidates, but their total number was always greater by two names than the number of available seats. In my proposal, pairs should be retained but there should be more of them than seats available. If a voter strikes off nobody on his ballot paper, the extra pairs would automatically not be counted. The point is that these extra pairs might be composed of "stray" candidates nominated by PRON. For various reasons not all serious and honest people join PRON but it seems necessary to enlist their help in the next Sejm. Unfortunately, the risk for candidates placed higher on the ballot paper is negligible, for I don't believe the majority of voters will flock to the polls.

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POLAND

PARTY WORK IN SIEDLCE ASSESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jozef Sadowski: "Siedlce: Assessment of Past Accomplishments and of Tasks for the Current Year"]

[Text] The reports campaign in the Siedlce provincial party organization was inaugurated on the 21st of this month with a meeting of the secretaries of primary party organizations from working and rural communities. The following took part in the deliberations which were presided over by Jerzy Swiderski, PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary; Kazimierz Barcikowski, Central Committee secretary and Politburo member; Andrzej Ornat, minister for youth affairs; and Hipolit Starszak, assistant prosecutor general.

In the paper given by Provincial Committee Secretary Bogdan Wojtczuk and in the discussion, it was pointed out that the party is entering a decisive phase in the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. "This designates the need," stressed Andrzej Niemialtowski "for summing up past accomplishments, for making an honest assessment of the accomplishments, for catching weaknesses and thinking over the extent to which the decisions of the reports-elections conference and the resolutions of primary party organizations have been implemented. For this to be possible, it is indispensable that party and echelon members become active. Attention should be focused above all on tasks which have not as yet been implemented as well as on those whose implementation is proceeding slowly."

"The current year," emphasized Ryszard Fedorowicz, "places before party members a series of tasks which result from the calendar of political life. The basic tasks are: the Sejm elections campaign, celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the return of the western territories to the Motherland, and the full implementation of the resolutions of the 18th Central Committee Plenum."

In voicing his opinion in the discussion, Kazimierz Barcikowski pointed out the advisability of presenting the current party and regional issues at a broad forum of primary organization secretaries. This will make it

possible quickly to disseminate the content of the reports campaign, to become acquainted with the problems which involve large numbers of party members, and to work out the program of activity for 1985.

"Today, no one can question the role of the party," stressed the Central Committee secretary, "in the fulfillment of the leading role and in the effectiveness of its activity in leading the country out of the crisis. The past 40 years have demonstrated the scale of the party's accomplishments and changes which are a part of Poland. They are evident in every rural community and in every town. The scope of accomplishments in Siedlce Province is without parallel. The party is credited with the normalization of the situation in the country, with overcoming difficulties, with production growth and social involvement."

"An issue of the greatest importance," stressed the speaker, "is using the production potential and qualified cadres in intensifying agriculture so that the program of the country's self-subsistence may be successful. The economic reform has created conditions for this."

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POLAND

PARTY ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN LEGNICA

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] Secretaries of all PZPR elements and echelons from Legnica Province met on the 21st of this month at a meeting which inaugurated the reports campaign. Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, took part in the deliberations.

It was emphasized that the next 2 months must be a period of intensified activity among party ranks. The campaign should bring about an answer to the question about the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and an assessment of the current condition of the party. Participation in reports meetings cannot be limited to superficial reflections. It was stressed that the main goal is to strengthen the internal power of the party, its aggressiveness and determination in combating negative phenomena in various areas of life.

The program assumptions of the campaign, which were worked out by the Central Committee Politburo, were expanded to include problems which are specific to the copper mining region. For example, constant concern on the part of plant party organizations for maintaining proper ratios between increased work productivity and wage increases is necessary here. An equally important task is meeting the social needs of work forces.

Critical opinions were voiced during the discussion on, among other things, the weak bond between the party apparatus and the member ranks, and the obscurity of the propaganda language. Tadeusz Porebski stressed that the meetings of the executive party aktiv, which were initiated in Legnica Province, have spread throughout the country. They enable the fruitful exchange of views at the threshold of important political campaigns. "The current year will abound in important events, beginning with reports conferences within the party, the election campaign to the Sejm and all the way to the 10th PZPR Congress," remarked the Central Committee secretary. All of this requires a great deal of activity by the members and by party organizations.

Next, the speaker pointed out weaknesses in the work of some PZPR organizations.

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POLAND

COMMISSION DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERIOR MINISTRY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Jan 85 p 4

[Text] The latest topic of deliberations of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice was the implementation of the law on the office of the minister of internal affairs and the scope of activity of subordinate agencies. The joint report on the information on the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] was presented by Deputy Henryk Kostecki (PZPR) in the name of the appointed subcommittee. The speaker said that the subcommittee had formulated its remarks on the basis of an inspection conducted in the MSW Organizational-Legal Office and selected units of the ministry in Krakow and Tarnow provinces. The deputy stressed that the half-year period from the time that the law was passed had been properly utilized by the ministry. All the legal delegations were implemented by means of 14 executive acts. It was noted that the administration of the MSW devotes much time and attention to the issue of thoroughly acquainting all functionaries with the law. In conducting its assessment, the subcommittee was also interested in the cadre situation of inspected units. Deputy Kostecki stated that in the opinion of the commission, the half-year practice period confirmed the need for enacting the law.

In taking part in the discussion, Deputy Antoni Polowniak (PZPR) stated, among other things, that the dissemination of information about the law and about accompanying executive acts requires particular attention. Deputy C. Moderacka (SD) took up the issue of the cadre situation in the ministry. She emphasized the high degree of social activity by functionaries. Deputy S. Adamiak (ZSL) spoke on the conditions of daily service.

Konrad Straszewski, deputy minister of internal affairs, took part in the discussion. He said, among other things, that the law has created a qualitatively new system of regulating the legal principles of the ministry's activity. It has created the opportunity for putting the structures and the scope of their activity in order. At the onset of its creation, there also arose the need for assuring the efficient activity of MSW agencies. Konrad Straszewski also discussed the current problems of the ministry's work. He announced that the activity of preventive services, whose work is of particular significance for our citizens, would be improved.

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POLAND

ORZECHOWSKI OUTLINES SOLUTIONS TO FUTURE CHALLENGES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 4, 26 Jan 85 pp 1, 11

[Article by Marian Orzechowski: "The Future Is Not an Abstraction"]

[Text] POLITYKA asked Prof Marian Orzechowski, deputy member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the editorial group for drafting the PZPR's long-term program, to sum up the editorial questionnaire on the "Next 40 Years."

We recall that the following expressed their views on it on our pages: Wladyslaw Markiewicz, Zdzislaw Grochowski, Marian Stepien, Stanislaw Gebethner, Janusz Stefanowicz, Szczepan Pieniazek, Ryszard Manteuffel, Antoni Kuklinski, Bogdan Suchodolski, Witold Lipski, Lech Zacher, Bronislaw Lagowski, Jozef Lipiec, Bohdan Czeszko, Stefan Kozlowski, Tomasz Goban-Klas, Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, and Jerzy Topolski.

The views in POLITYKA's questionnaire on the "Next 40 Years" are fascinating reading. A picture of Poland's upcoming second 40 years in the visions, predictions, and dreams of the people who are jointly creating its first 40 years. Scholars, journalists, writers, and social and political workers. Members of the PZPR and ZSL, socially committed nonparty members, and those staying away from high-level and low-level politics. In this socially differentiated collection of views on the future of Poland, there was a lack of statements by workers and peasants, those who will be creating it through their work. Others are speaking on their behalf, and more broadly, on behalf of society and the people--are they always correct? Does the synthesis of their views, looking backward and toward the future, always correspond to the feelings and hopes of a divided society, and its working class?

The views are far from uniformity, schematic opinions and attitudes. They are a reflection of socially widespread views that are voiced in every public discussion and exchange of views on the Poland of yesterday and today. They do not, however, reflect everything that Poles think about their own future, including the ones defending antisocialist positions, but they do reflect enough that one can acknowledge them as a fairly representative sample, capturing the climate of the social feelings, attitudes, expectations, and hopes of a divided society.

There are several authors and actually as many points of view, resulting from different experiences and systems of values, and the diversity of criteria for assessing the past, personal sympathies, and occupational glasses for looking at reality. There is a great deal in common in this diversity, however.

The world, Europe, and along with them Poland have been at a cross-roads: one of the roads leads straight to thermonuclear annihilation and the destruction of the earth's civilization, and the other, to its difficult preservation and development. The determinants of this will be the rivalry between the capitalist and socialist systems, and the challenges to civilization associated with the development of modern means of production and technology, the exhaustion of previously known sources of raw materials and energy, ecological threats, the demographic explosion, etc.

The challenges to civilization have a special and almost twofold dimension for Poland, since our country is confronted with them at the same time as it is emerging from a profound and extensive crisis. Poland does not have any time to lose. As in the past, time is acting against us, and also because the pace of social changes around us is subject to acceleration. Unless we go forward quickly, in accordance with our needs, challenges, and capabilities, we will fall behind.

Aside from external international determining factors that are only partially dependent upon us, the future of Poland lies in our hands, perhaps only through the joint work of the thoughts and hands of workers, farmers, scholars, cultural creators, and politicians.

The future is not an abstraction, a remote future time. It is already being created today. Its formation thus cannot be put off until tomorrow, to a time when the consequences of the crisis will be behind us, when we will surely emerge onto a straight line of development. There are many important and indisputable trump cards in the struggle for the future of Poland: the lasting socioeconomic, political, and cultural achievements of the past 40 years; the people's state, within its historically just and intelligently secured borders; our belonging to the community of the socialist states; the alliance and friendship with all of our neighbors; and the considerable but still underutilized human potential.

Poland's main trump card in the contest for its future is its social and political order--socialism. For the ideological climate of the statement, it is important to formulate the specific challenges to socialism, and to point out its enormous contemporary development possibilities, as a sine qua non condition for realistic thought about the future. "Bringing out all of the humanitarian content borne by socialism within itself," "utilizing all of its development possibilities" --that is the basic conclusion from the socialist option. Taken 40 years ago, at the present time it is not just an ordinary ideological and political declaration, but rather the point of departure for posing very concrete questions, no longer in the category of "whether to have socialism" but "how to create socialism," how to "get everything that can help Poland win its proper place in modern times" out of its great ideas, still alive and still arousing to action.

A characteristic feature of the different views on the past and the future is the conflict of two schools of political thought. One of them emphasizes the failures and defeats of the past 40 years, the rifts and all of the breakdowns along the path from ideals, to purposes, to social policy, to its results. Not without a measure of evident pessimism, it points out the departure from the practice of "some value" of socialism (social justice, equality, the people's authority, etc.), whose "trace" is difficult to find in "the everyday world." Perceived that way, the balance of the 40 years is above all a caution, a warning, and not a source of experience and lessons, not just helpful ones, but in fact ones that are indispensable as a component of thought about the future. The other school of thought about the past 40 years, pointing out its lasting achievements, which constitute a basis and a change for future development, stresses what can be called "learning from the crisis," from the good and bad experiences of the people. The difficult process of socialist renewal, its complicated paths among ideological and political contradictions and disputes, the easily perceived longings for what is known, old and tested, and the attempts to conjure away the complicated everyday world, overcoming it by a "revolutionary leap" into the future, must give rise to doubts as to whether the lessons of the past will not "be forgotten." This is not an imaginary problem, but rather an extremely real one. It is of decisive significance, particularly for the PZPR, which bears a special responsibility for the fate of the people and its state.

The experiences of the past have a still different effect on thought about the future. For some people, thinking about the past in rather pessimistic terms, they give rise to a sort of fear of the future, of looking at it boldly, and observing its emergence; they paralyze creative imagination in an apprehension of fruitless visions and limitless dreams; and they incline people to think solely in terms of "today," the "near future," and "slight stabilization." From the lessons of the past, the logic of social processes, and finally from the essence of socialism, based on scientific, Marxist-Leninist principles, other people draw the need and even the imperative for looking boldly at the future, surmounting

the fear of visions and their creation in accordance with social needs, aspirations, and capabilities, since a society in whose awareness there is a lack of prospects going beyond the "near future" cannot function normally. In this case the "boldness for visions," the courage to think about the future, and a functional "education for the future" in accordance with it are the antithesis of "crisis thought," stabilization based on "short-term" goals.

There is an intermediate and perhaps dominant position between these two extreme positions. Characteristic components of it are a decided opposition to "extravagant visions" and "the subjective projection of the recent past or even the present day," countering these with an honest, scientific prediction, taking into account the dialectics of continuation and negation as the "only sensible method for the creation of socialist thought and practice." In this difference between the schools of political thought about the past and future, one can perceive a question of crucial significance, which cannot be overlooked in any sensible designing of development programs for Poland: whether we should free ourselves from the "specter of the past," while at the same time not forgetting its experiences and lessons, rising above in such a way as not to constrain thought--and to what extent we will succeed in doing so.

The difference in views of the past 40 years, and in the lessons and conclusions drawn from them, lead naturally to the designing and presentation of different development programs, different forms for Poland in the first decades of the 21st century, and different strategies for realizing them. This applies to matters more specific than such common, undiscussed but general, postulates and assumptions as "socialist Poland," "modern Poland," "occupying its proper place in the family of other peoples and states" (like the antithesis of "Poland, the suburb of Europe" and "Poland, the Bangladesh of Europe"), "the Poland of social justice," etc. This is above all a question of the contents of these concepts acknowledged to be common ones, the ways and means of achieving them. Socialism, yes--but what kind? A socialist society, yes--but what kind? Based on what principles, and how created? A path to socialism in Polish conditions, yes--but what are these "Polish conditions," and what specifically do they mean?

Disputes that were passed over long ago, but are now current and updated are returning in the thoughts about socialist Poland tomorrow: "being" or "having." The future Poland, imminent and desired, created by the common effort of the people, appears, however, to be a consumer society, aiming at an abundance of goods, seeking motivation for thoughts, convictions, attitudes, and activities in "having." Others shift the emphasis to "being." They would like to see the Poland of the next 40 years as a modern cultural society, with developed and increasingly more diverse needs, but also possessing the means essential to satisfy them.

Some people see the road to modern Poland in the rational development of manufacturing forces, in the correct selection of the strategic goals and paths for socioeconomic growth. Others, on the other hand, place the emphasis on the sphere of awareness, attitudes, and social mentality, perceiving in it the basic, fundamental condition for development and progress, in the economic sphere as well. In accordance with the established tradition of thought on social issues, on the fate of Poland as a people and a state, the center of gravity has been shifted to the "work ethic," without which any consideration of the future of Poland "becomes pointless and barren," and to the formation of an awareness and social attitudes leading to a harmonization of the aspirations aroused by socialism with a feeling of civic responsibility.

The vision of a modern Poland keeping pace with others is associated by some people with industrial development, with the introduction of new means of production and technologies--microelectronics and microprocessors, automation, robotization, computerization, remote data processing, biotechnologies, etc., and the efficient management of domestic raw material and energy resources. Others, in turn, associate the future of Poland, its real chance, with agriculture, with its private and family sector. Family farming is treated as a permanent element of socialism in Poland, the source of its future economic strength and its position in the world--and socialized agriculture as a possible variant, but economically, politically, culturally, and psychologically undesirable. In this vision of the development of Poland, industry would be oriented above all toward serving agriculture. Finally, somewhere on the fringes of thought about the future of Poland as socialist Poland appears the idea or suggestion of renouncing an extensive program of investment in agriculture, and using the part of the funds allocated for this to purchase food under world conditions.

The old 19th-century question, "whether the Poles can achieve independence," is assuming a modern form: "can the Poles achieve modernity, and catch up with others?" As then, the answer is affirmative. Behind it, however, lie profound differences in answers to the question "how?"

There is no agreement on the subject of the roads leading to the realization of "Poland's achieving modernity." Most of them prefer to support a modernized version of "organic labor"--systematic, little or not always effective, but effective, and well and wisely organized and managed. An interesting variant of such a view of the ways and methods of achieving the future is the slogan "romanticism of the goals and positivism of the means." Not foreign to views on the future, however, are the more or less articulated calls for a "breakthrough," a "break," made by an unspecified "vanguard," a "revolutionary minority," which by thought, deed, and example breaks through the circle of inability and weakness, dragging the passive and indecisive behind them. The idea of a "breakthrough" or "break" by the vanguard strikes fairly strong feelings, attitudes, expectations, and social hopes, that Poland and socialism in Poland need a charismatic leader, a strong and great person, who

through will power, intellect, and social support will point out clear goals and the ways to attain them, unite society around them, and with an iron hand and a broom remove all the barriers, crush opponents relentlessly, eradicate bureaucratism and other social plagues, and reforge the desires and aspirations of the masses into reality.

In the controversies over the roads leading to the future, the question of the attitude of the broad circles of society, of arousing them to social and not just productive activity, is a fundamental and decisive one, if one recalls the thesis, confirmed by experience, that socialism can be the work of the human masses themselves, created by them and for them. This thesis, however, always has a concrete historical content, and not an abstract one. In modern Poland, it is determined, among other things, by the state of social awareness, the attitude toward work and social property, the extent of social pathology, etc. All are in favor of changing this state, and acknowledge this change as a necessary condition for the development of Poland. Some people think that it is possible to do this through the proper system for social education, "education for the future." Others, in turn, emphasize the decisive role of the mechanisms of socialist democracy and self-management. Still others seek solutions in the need for a choice between the principle of "Darwinism" that dominates the capitalist world and "Polish egalitarianism," and opting for the former, only modified and adapted to different systemic conditions. This means, among other things, acknowledgment of the law of the selection of the best, most capable, and strongest per fas et nefas (at whose cost, however?), a fundamental change in the past criteria, principles, and climate for social and individual advancement, raising the principle of the productivity of labor to the rank of the highest reason and ideal of socialism, and "downgrading" the principle of social justice. In this way, the link between the social productivity of labor and social justice is broken. Social justice ceases to be the criterion for socialism's superiority to capitalism.

Thought about the future is the privilege, right, and obligation of intellectuals, their national duty, since the people cannot either live in the past or from day to day, without a sense of prospects. But what should these prospects be like, and how should they be pointed out? How should this be done in such a diverse society, among views that are so different, even if formulated on the basis of a socialist position? The program for the development of Poland entering its second 40 years cannot be derived from such different views, mutually contradictory proposals and projects, by keeping what is common to them and rejecting what is different, just because it is common or different. The decisions and selection of the goal and the roads to it do not belong to the intellectuals, however, but rather to the politicians and decisionmaking centers, such as the ruling parties in modern societies and states. Thus, what criteria and assumptions should guide the party, whose special obligation is to present modern generations with a realistic program, a socially mobilizing and activating vision of further long-term socialist transformations of Poland, the development of socialist forms of social life?

In the first place, the systemic principles determining the essence of socialism, its increasingly fuller and more effective penetration of all spheres and forms of social life.

In the second place, the paramount class interests of the working class, which of all the classes and social groups constituting contemporary Polish society is the one that is most vitally interested in the realization of the goals of socialism.

In the third place, a realistic assessment of development trends in Poland, a sober calculation of the forces and means, barriers and threats--current and potential--arising on the road to socialism.

In the fourth place, an equally realistic assessment of the needs, interests, moods, convictions, attitudes, and aspirations of society and its individual classes and groups. Not in order to adjust to them or to indulge them completely, but rather in order to form them more effectively, in accordance with the spirit and logic of the creation of socialism. The long-term program for socialist transformations must particularly take into account two different outlooks in viewing the past and the future, the past 40 years and the coming ones: the outlooks of those who created the Poland of the past 40 years, and built the lasting foundations for its further development, but who have themselves gone to greater glory, and those who are just beginning their active life. The future form of socialist Poland will depend on the latter to a decisive degree. For them, the past history of the PRL is already ancient history, not experienced personally, dealt with from a distance, and as a rule without emotional involvement.

The basis for thought about the future and long-term plans for it must be a realistic assessment of what has already been achieved and created. The party--this is also the sense of the orientation adopted by the National Conference of PZPR Delegates--"will oppose the threat of stagnation, a slackening of the pace of changes, the consolidation of transitional states, and also tendencies to jump over inevitable phases of the transformations and to undertake premature tasks for which the prerequisites and conditions are not yet ready." An expression of this same orientation, overcoming the dichotomy of pessimism and optimism, romanticism and positivism, boundless visions and insipid pragmatism, is the formulation of the prospects for the development of Poland, even up to the turn of the century and the first decades of the 21st century, in terms of mature socialism, developing on the basis of its own fully formed socioeconomic, political, and spiritual foundations. The road to it will lead through a strengthening of the basis already built for the new order, and the improvement and comprehensive development of socialist contents and forms for social life.

The program thus conceived cannot be understood statically, as given once and for all. The goal is unchanging, since it is derived from the very essence of the aspirations of the working class and the party expressing

its interests, and constitutes the meaning and legitimization of the party's existence and activity. The universal historical rules for realizing it are unchanging, since they have been verified in past practice.

They also include the necessity of taking into account everything that can be briefly called national and concrete historical characteristics and conditions. Nevertheless, the ways and means of reaching the goal, the stages and intermediate phases in achieving it, the barriers and threats appearing in the process of its realization, are variable, subject to the pressure of rapidly changing circumstances. Among other things, this requires constantly thinking about the future and for the future; exposing contradictions, without which there can be no development; determining their sources, essence, and consequences; pointing out the ways and means of overcome them, so that they do not become a source and seed of conflicts and crises; establishing formal and informal mechanisms for giving "early warning" (to society and centers of political and economic authority) of phenomena and processes that are dysfunctional with respect to the socioeconomic system and that indicate the appearance of new contradictions, barriers, and threats to development; creating innovative mechanisms that improve the economic and political system and adapt it to new needs and challenges in an evolutionary manner, "on the march," as it were, without exposing it (and thus society) to crises and upheavals casting it backwards. Among other things, this means the necessity of developing and improving the system of the people's rule: the socialist state, socialist democracy, and socialist self-management. This cannot be achieved without the establishment of a system of civic education for the future. As was believed a long time ago, democracy is the most difficult form of government and life in a state, for being a citizen. It has to be studied and learned, instilled throughout one's entire life.

Thought about the future and for the future must become a social need, a social habit, a component of political culture not just for the centers of authority, but for the masses as well. Only then will it fulfill the role of a factor facilitating the selection of the best road to the future, its continual correction, and the effective surmounting of its successive sections.

Such a school of thought about the future and for the future can and should be constituted by the work on and general discussion of the draft long-term program for the PZPR, pointing out the roads to the socialist Poland of the 21st century: a modern, wealthy, and socially just Poland, obtaining a feeling of dignity and national greatness from the heritage of its own civilization, from its advanced contents and forms of social life, and its proper and deserved position among other peoples and states.

9909
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POLAND

POLITBURO RESOLUTION ON GDANSK SITUATION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26-27 Jan 85 p 2

[Resolution of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo on the assessment of the sociopolitical and economic situation and party activity in Gdansk Province]

[Text] At its meeting in Gdansk, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo conducted a comprehensive assessment of the activity of the Provincial Party Organization and of the sociopolitical and economic situation in the Gdansk sea-coast region.

The Politburo found a growing influence of the Provincial Party Organization on the shape of the civic and socioproducing activity of working people of the sea-coast area. It assessed positively the organization's efforts in the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

In emphasizing the indisputable accomplishments of the party in the region, the Politburo found at the same time the occurrence of a series of shortcomings. To overcome them, it is necessary to intensify ideological-upbringing work and to improve further the activity of party echelons and organizations. They should take on and solve with greater effectiveness than has been the case thus far, problems of importance for the working class and for society as a whole and strengthen confidence in the party among work crews. This requires the continual increase of discipline in the implementation of resolutions and an ideological and active attitude in the life and work of every PZPR member. For the proper fulfillment of the leading role among the people of the Gdansk area, it is necessary to strengthen the class character of the party and to win over candidates, mainly from among the leading workers including, in particular, members of socialist youth unions.

During the 40-year period of the people's authority, enormous progress has taken place in the Gdansk region in all areas of socioeconomic life. This has been accomplished owing to the working people, the residents of the province who contributed to the building of a socialist reality.

They were able to raise Gdansk and other cities from the rubble under extremely difficult conditions; to build, practically from the foundations, a great, modern industrial potential connected with the sea and to develop science, education and culture. Also during recent years, which were very difficult ones, a decided majority of the residents of the sea-coast region have exhibited patriotic self-sacrifice and a civic sense of responsibility which manifested itself, above all, in good work and in activity on behalf of socialist renewal as described in the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress. The PZPR Central Committee Politburo states that the economic potential of the province, and particularly the marine economy, constitute a vital element of the country's development.

The Central Committee Politburo emphasizes that the efficient use of this potential should constitute the basis for the further development of the province, should hasten the solving of the difficult problems of the functioning of urban centers, and should be conducive to the further improvement of the living and working conditions of the residents.

The socioeconomic problems raised at the Politburo meeting by representatives of the provincial party echelon will be examined during the course of work on the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1986-1990.

The Central Committee Politburo obligates the party-administrative authorities of the province to work out, through cooperation with government agencies, a comprehensive program of development for the province up to the year 2000. Such a program should be created with wide-scale public participation and especially with that of the work forces of key work establishments. The Central Committee Politburo is turning to party members and to the Gdansk Province public for their active participation in the implementation of socioeconomic tasks and for the active support of party policies in the implementation of socioeconomic goals which serve the improvement of the living conditions of working people and the continued successful development of the province and the country.

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CSO: 2600/604

POLAND

LEGISLATION URGED TO PROTECT RIGHTS OF NONBELIEVERS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by Jan Rem: "Insulting People's Feelings"]

[Text] People attending services in many churches will hear that it is a lack of religious faith that leads man to crime and actually accounts for whether evil exists in Poland, and thus it is to Godlessness that must be uprooted. This message is preached by some priests, and even some bishops, who hold on to models dating back to the remote epoch of Counter-Reformation. Their attitude is one of clericalist chauvinism and expansionism.

In connection with the trial of Fr Popieluszko's killers, many priests came up with the idea at more or less the same time that this crime was a product of materialistic ideology and nonreligious upbringing. They were often even cruder and more aggressive in their words. This was followed by the usual generalizations, such as the one about nonreligiousness being degrading, and the cause of all things evil, or about all the real or imagined hardships in Poland being caused by the existence of nonbelievers.

True, the killers of the Warsaw priest are nonreligious people. However, each year some few hundred people are murdered in Poland for various reasons and under various circumstances. The Church claims some 90 percent of Poles are believers, followers of the Catholic creed. Nobody enquires about the religious beliefs or links with the Church of murderers or other criminals, but if you assume that so high a percentage of Poles are believers and members of the Church, then by straightforward laws of probability one can calculate that an overwhelming majority of crimes are committed by people who embrace the clergy's moral teaching. This is further true of other evils such as dishonest or inaccurate work, appropriation, alcoholism, favoritism and so on.

Crime has always been a favorite subject of research for sociologists. Never have they found people declaring themselves to be believers or churchgoers to be more honest than atheists. The two world outlooks dominant in Poland have been trying to get their followers to lead honest lives, but they have only been partly successful. Evidence of this, among other things, comes from statistics showing that alcohol consumption went up during a month [August 1984] which had been proclaimed a month of sobriety by the Church. People steal for various reasons, but never because they have never heard it is a bad thing to do.

Cases are known of burglars who have stolen valuable religious objects from one church only to enter another for prayer. Several years ago Poland was shocked by the story of the Polaniec murder, when a whole family, including a child and a pregnant woman, were killed for a trifling reason on leaving a church after Christmas midnight mass, afterwards the killers staged a religious mystery play during which witnesses were made to swear on the cross that they would never talk.

Neither the social structure of crime nor psychological analyses of criminals justify the association of evil deeds with this or any other world outlook. A crime committed for reasons such as those involved in the killing of Fr Popieluszko is a very rare event. Equally rare in Poland are offenses against other people's lives or health committed out of religious fanaticism. But often enough religious fanaticism results not in maiming the body but the mind, as evidenced by the kind of sermon in which it is said that a Godless world outlook leads one to crime and dishonesty and is the cause of all the evil around us. Such sermons spread untruths, sow hatred and intolerance, and incite ill feelings against those who think differently. From these pulpits flows untruth, or, more exactly, slander, and nobody even tries to support it with any data on criminal behavior or social delinquency because this cannot be done.

Suppose some party activist came forward with an argument similar to the sermons preached by one of Poland's bishops, only with its sharp edge pointed in the opposite direction. What would he say? [He would say] such a religion debases the Polish people. Religious beliefs are false. Religious attitudes generate crime and offenses, leading people to devaluation of all moral principle and to inner emptiness. Accordingly, religion must be uprooted for there is no room for it in Poland.

This invented speech is, I repeat, a straightforward reversal of many a sermon of the kind here referred to. But, nobody makes such speeches in Poland. They would undoubtedly be deplored as an insult to religious feelings.

This example strongly implies there is actually no equality in Poland concerning ones beliefs--the scientific world outlook can be vilified, have mud thrown at it and be abused in public. Religiousness, in contrast to this, is under protection, and the Church is used for the sowing of hatred toward nonreligiousness and reviling it is unfortuantely tolerated. Some priests, and even bishops, do not care at all about nonbelievers' feelings which can also be insulted, they do not care at all that people holding beliefs other than religious ones are also attached to their outlooks and that they may feel hurt by aggressive assaults against these feelings.

But there is an even more astounding thing in Poland--in People's Poland, where a Marxist Party is the leading political force, there is actually no equal legal protection of religion and atheism, of religious and nonreligious attitudes. The intolerance and bigotry displayed by part of the clergy has led to a disregard for those holding other beliefs, to a denial of the fact that Polish people hold different world outlooks. In my view, Poland's legislative system should be adapted to this new situation to safeguard identical legal

protection for both world outlooks. Article 81.2 of the Polish Constitution bans the propagation of hatred or contempt, the incitement of quarrels or humiliation of people on grounds of religious differences, but this Article 81 says nothing about a ban on propagating hatred or contempt on grounds of somebody's nonreligiousness.

Of course, nonreligiousness is not a kind of belief but a world outlook of a different nature which has scientific sources. But every person is emotionally attached to his own world outlook, and so by humiliating nonreligiousness in public you hurt the feelings of nonbelievers no less seriously than you can hurt believers in their feelings.

The Penal Code is very inaccurate in its provisions concerning the protection of nonbelievers' feelings, so that different interpretations are possible. This is why I think that legal provisions should be adapted to current needs better than they are now, and that the feelings of nonbelievers must be expressly protected, exactly to the same extent as those of believers. It is absurd, and it is a sign of inequality in discrimination against nonbelievers, that you can comparatively easily vilify the nonreligious world outlook while religion is under rigorous protection. This is an insult to the principle of equal treatment for differing world outlooks.

In Poland, nobody insults the feelings of believers, nobody says in public that religious beliefs are untruths generating evil, or that the Church educates murderers, thieves, profiteers, or that within the Church's own sphere of influence drinking or laziness flourish along with a hundred other vices. But the nonreligious world outlook and ethics are continually denigrated and vilified in public from many pulpits. Incredibly, this is often called the preaching of universal love.

The legislative system should above all protect those values which at the given time and place are exposed to attacks incompatible with the principle of tolerance and with the spirit of Polish legislation.

The formulation of explicit interdicts is needed not only to protect the validity of the scientific world outlook, but also the ideals and feelings of nonbelievers. Demands for supplementing penal regulations, or making them more accurate, are also necessary for the benefit of believers, who should not be infected with hatred toward their compatriots and their compatriots' world outlooks. Disputes over matters of belief should be held in an atmosphere of respect and tolerance toward those who hold different beliefs, they should be undertaken for the purpose of reaching national reconciliation, on the foundation of the supreme interests of the state and the people.

CSO: 2020/78

POLAND

OPPOSITION'S EXTREMISM SEEN AS OBSTACLE TO RAPPROCHEMENT

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 6, 6 Feb 85 p 3

[Article by Jan Rem: "A Heaven-sent Gift"]

[Text] Some events of 1981 ought to be considered from a new angle and in a new fashion, and it is various reports from some churches that makes me think so. On 15 January 1985 a sermon was delivered in St Stephen's church in Cracow by Maciej Szumowski, who only in 1981 was editor-in-chief of the party daily GAZETA KRAKOWSKA. He said from the altar that the authorities were conducting a psychological war against the people and so the former should be opposed and not yielded to.

On 16 January columnist Dariusz Fikus delivered a sermon in the Jesuit church in Sienkiewicza Street in Lodz. The preacher spoke still in trousers, not yet wearing a frock. Mr Fikus was--with only brief respites--the acting manager of POLITYKA for more than 20 years as well as party secretary there for most of that time. In 1981 he was also secretary-general of the [now banned] Polish Journalists Association SDP. In his sermon he admonished leaders of the former Solidarity Union, who were present, for underrating the effect of the official media, especially television. These media, said the newly converted, should be fought with more determination than so far had been the case.

Mr Fikus' former boss, Stefan Bratkowski, is also an inveterate preacher. You would lose count if you tried to number the churches he has honored by his sermons.

These journalists and their friends, who were still party members in 1981, were then a united group set to take over the political control of the media which were sponsored by the PZPR, the United Peasants Alliance ZSL, the Democratic Alliance SD, and by other allied organizations. As the conflict between the party and the government on one side and the political orientation on the other side at that time was growing, it was increasingly necessary to define their political identity and the line they were following. The party and government leaders charged this group with heading closer--both in ideology and organization--toward think tanks of enemies of socialism. But Bratkowski, Fikus and Szumowski denied this strongly. They said they represented the party line and party interest, only that they saw better what these were than was seen [by those working] at the Central Committee headquarters. They claimed to be

working for a rapprochement between the two opposite forces, standing up to the extremist currents that they noticed on both sides. Furthermore, they claimed to be keeping an equal distance toward the PZPR and the former Solidarity union, which makes them a living and perfect embodiment of the idea of agreement.

But the party leadership charged them with hypocrisy and fraudulence. [The party leadership said] they were actually on the side of those opposing the PZPR and only poorly camouflaged their enthusiastic backing for the leadership of former Solidarity and various other groups, chiefly the KOR group which pulled the strings inside Solidarity's National Commission. On all matters and in all situations, the charge went, these people either backed the party's adversaries or refused to stand up to even the wildest escapades [on the part of the opposition].

Bratkowski, Fikus, Szumowski and others were outraged at these allegations. They [said they] were involved in forceful internal party activity, spoke out as Marxists-Leninists, claimed to be merely fighting the hardliners inside the PZPR and conservative attitudes while being fully loyal and true to the faith. Some party members did believe this, and trusted them. So did a considerable proportion of journalists working for the media which were under the influence of the PZPR and its political allies.

By now, however, the protagonists of this story have taken up positions of extreme hostility toward socialism and are overtly opposed to the party. In this they have outdone many of those former Solidarity leaders whom they themselves called extremists (to be true, they preferred saying such things when inside party and government offices where they liked to go in order to pledge their loyalty, and not in public). They maintain they went into opposition only after 13 December 1981, and only under the impact of that event [martial law introduction]. But now it is clear that they already back in 1981 were anti-communists in camouflage, and their political evolution would have led them in that direction, martial law or no martial law.

I simply think it should explicitly be said for the historical records, if for no other reason, that the 1981 dispute over the political identity of Bratkowski, Fikus, Szumowski and some other members of the group founded in 1980 has finally been settled. Charges made at that time about their attitude have been fully confirmed. Anticipations of the logic of such an attitude, which implied among other things that these people were heading toward an open flirtation with extremists in the so-called opposition, have proved true. It is not always unimportant where one comes from--it all depends on where one is headed for.

As an old colleague of former comrades Bratkowski, Fikus and (less so) Szumowski, I must admit that with the memories of Comrade Secretary Fikus of the 1960's and 1970's in my mind I still cannot imagine him against the background of an altar. I would also like to know if he dons a surplice and dips anything in holy water to be allowed in return to settle old accounts in some churches with his former comrades.

This is one illustration of how former dramatic events and rifts now appear in a farcical light.

In more general terms, the Poland of today which is so fatigued by various hardships would certainly be a much duller country was it not for the comical elements provided by some communities. In official parlance, there is talk of attitudes in such cases. But you will notice even more comical antics rather than attitudes in groups who are opposed to or are turning their backs on the authorities.

A television camera caught a glimpse of a smile on the face of actor F. standing near a person in authority. Actor F., who is a first-rate artist, is not particularly political in his attitude, as he is mostly busy on the stage. But in F.'s little world there are half-pint politicians who are of oppositionist persuasion, who decide what is allowed and for whom. Failure to obey the theater community's martinets brings painful social penalties as well as moral disgrace upon culprits.

So, Warsaw's living rooms were shocked by a new political scandal; it was revealed that actor F. had publicly courted the authorities, and at a very high level too, and that, moreover, he had let a television camera catch him in the act. I fear that actor F. will now have to pour petrol over and set fire to himself, thereby illuminating his genuine commitment to authentic freedom and to his colleague [actor Andrzej] Szczepkowski personally. Rumor has it that F. is busy explaining himself, but this has hardly helped him. He vows he only went to have a glass of wine with the person in authority as a duty and in the interest of his cabaret and it was then he happened to smile and inadvertently allowed the television night news camera to catch him. The things that the gossip-mongers will say about you! F.'s colleague, ex-comrade J.P. also excuses the artist in living rooms--F. is innocent, he was caught doing "what we all do, working for that shitty state."

Since Jacek Kuron himself is said to have chided F. for his flexibility, P. runs from room to room as F.'s friend and ambassador to swear that in the wake of his disgrace artist F. "was drinking for 2 days and walked with downcast eyes." Yet not everybody in those living rooms believe that drinking vodka is a gruesome kind of torture for purging yourself from political sins. In retaliation against F., the oppositionist camp circulated the rumor that he smiled at the person of authority because he was trying to get a new apartment. This colossal scandal keeps growing and shaking the foundations of the capital's tiny little world.

This brings me to another artist, the world-famous French playwright [Eugene] Ionesco, the writer of "The Bald Singer" and "The Rhinoceros." Ionesco's biographers say he is a Frenchmen of Rumanian descent. But I smell Polish blood in him. This man must have the typical buffoonery of Warsaw's living rooms in his genes.

Ionesco is very esteemed and liked in Poland, especially by somewhere between 71 and 83 people. But this suffices for Polish theaters to stage his plays more often than this happens in his own motherland. And I mean France.

Because Ionesco is a big name in Polish theaters, a French institution based in Warsaw invited him here. Whether or not the Polish press announced the

visit can only be confirmed by Glob, the Polish press-scanning institution, because not even proofreaders peruse papers closely enough to have noticed it. What is certain is that the Guards of Honor were not busy polishing their boots, and that Minister [Kazimierz] Zygułski was not brushing up his French to welcome Ionesco. Nor was it ever mentioned even once in any queue in front of Polish shops that we were about to be honored by a visit from the writer of "The Bald Singer." Ordinary and official Poland alike lived in ignorance of the political experience it was in for.

But suddenly the Paris-based LE MONDE published a lengthy statement by Ionesco entitled "Why I'm Not Going to Poland." From it emerged the face of a person who is in case he might find himself anywhere near some Polish official. Ionesco revealed he was to be hosted solely by the French institution in Poland, and he had been assured that all Polish officials would stay clear of him and that he would go to Warsaw only to pay homage to the so-called opposition and express his admiration for Father Zieja, Józef Rybicki, Pajdak, Milewicz, Mikolajski, Wosiek, Kuron, Jan Józef Lipski, Michnik, Lityński, Lipinski, Wujec, Anna Kowalska--briefly, for KOR, as well as for Wajda and Walesa.

Ionesco prepared himself for paying homage to these people, and the long list mentioning them, which was published in LE MONDE, must have been compiled by one of the Polish emigre groups in Paris, for it is unlikely that the playwright would be an erudite on Polish biographies. Ionesco was about to leave for Poland when the communist regime suddenly bared its poisonous teeth at the playwright. A terrible thing happened. Correspondents for "the official Polish press" in Paris, says Ionesco, began to phone him asking for an interview but underlining that "solely on cultural topics." To this Ionesco replied--but I think this should be quoted, for never before has this aged writer of comedies written a funnier text.

Here it is. "Of course, I know pretty well what is meant by cultural topics in those countries. I would, of course, have known what I said but since I don't know Polish I would not have known what words they would have put into my mouth, or, more exactly, this is what I feared. So I refused to give any interview.

"However, the Polish media continued announcing my arrival as though I was invited and received by official Poland. This insidious change fits well with the strategies pursued by totalitarian regimes. (...) The satisfaction I would have got from talking to people I like and respect because of their courage would be gradually soured by the ambiguous situation in which I would have found myself despite my intentions.

"No, it's out of the question that I should inadvertently supply safeguards for a regime under whom monstrous events occur every day--Father Popieluszko is murdered, other priests are tortured, investigators crushed by trucks, Solidarity activists persecuted by General Jaruzelski's increasingly perfidious dictatorship.

"So, I'm not going to Poland. Maybe the Lord will grant me enough years to go there one day unhampered, in a freedom the Poles will win for themselves and for us.

"Today, unfortunately, I can be with them only in spirit, and I want this to be known in one way or another. My friends, my brothers, you are in my heart. I embrace you." (End of quotation from Ionesco.)

Without this emotional old man's trip to Warsaw the severe totalitarian regime is bound to fall infamously, deprived of what is such a fundamental kind of support for Poland as Ionesco's trip might have proved to be.

I am not sure, though, that Ionesco can exonerate himself before LE MONDE's readers simply by refusing to come to Poland. For three decades now, our hideous totalitarian regime has been subsidizing every play of Ionesco's with millions of zloty, and there has been a lit of those plays. Doesn't this fact incriminate Ionesco as a henchman of abominable totalitarianism? We wouldn't subsidize his plays with big money if they didn't express ideas serving our ignominious totalitarian goals, would we? Ionesco himself knows how to appreciate our satanic perfidy.

I am the last person to deny some merits to the present leadership of Poland. There are many witnesses. But I am not quite sure their merits are great enough for the authorities to say, "Look, we deserve this heaven-sent gift in the form of all those fools, buffoons, comedians and hypocrites who are opposed to us." For, the heavens really did the "regime" a great favor when leaving it pitted against adversaries who are a bunch of fools making themselves ridiculous all the time. To use the great playwright Ionesco's words, "my friends, my anti-regime brothers, you are in my heart, I embrace you."

The general intellectual level of our adversaries is a great and often under-rated political capital as well as a major prop for the existing system.

CSO: 2020/81

POLAND

URBAN'S POLEMICS ASSOCIATED WITH HALF-TRUTHS, DEMOGOGUERY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 3, 19 Jan 85 p 8

[Article by Daniel Passent: "Contrariness Into Politics"]

[Text] Jerzy Urban's columns and activity have been the subject of countless conversations and discussions. I use his name here because in a foreword to the latest collection of his essays ("Essays for Other People's Wives," Czytelnik, Warszawa, 1984, 230 pp, 50,000 copies, zł 120) Jan Rem divulges what has long been no secret at all, namely that he is one more embodiment of Urban. Urban-Rem may feel gratified seeing the great interest the public has shown in his person because his contrariness has always been a driving force in his writing and activity. In his style, habits, intellect, and recently above all in politics, he has quite clearly been a maverick.

Urban-Rem's provocative attitude is evident in his successful alienation of almost every social group in Poland with his columns (taking care not to estrange only a few)--from the clergy to gynecologists, from his own family to followers of Solidarity--feelings he gave expressed vividly, by describing, for instance, the way he treated his wife whenever she flaunted her Solidarity badge. His courage was that he wrote this at a time when thousands of readers loved their wives and their trade union. If a columnist cannot be really good without being blasphemous, then Urban-Rem will find no match in the postwar period. But one consequence of reviling others is that others will revile your name, and quite successfully too. From [communist party leader till 1970] Wladyslaw Gomulka to the LONDON TIMES, the hero of our story has managed to estrange everybody.

Years ago, when he began to behave and speak very unconventionally, Urban-Rem stuck out his neck both to the right and the left. But practically his behavior was a provocation toward the authorities. From 1980 onwards, he could antagonize millions at a time, by raving against them, against what he regarded as their blindness.

From a bête noire in the eyes of the authorities, he became a black sheep for part of the journalistic community and for many readers.

Society People Hold Their Noses

Rem is deliberately provocative toward the subjects of his sneers, which unfriendly people call lampoons. Lech Walesa is, to Rem, a "Gdansk citizen" or

"the Gentleman from Gdansk," [movie director Andrzej] Wajda a "silly amateur politician," and his essay on "Museums" starts thus: "I have always looked with dislike at Maja Berezowska's drawings. I believe she owes her popularity to the circumstance that bad taste is the most common of all deficiencies in Poland."

Standing up in defense of Professor Wladyslaw Markeiwicz who was unfairly attacked by somebody else, Urban writes, "If Markiewicz's disciples went to the [Warsaw weekly] RZECZWISTOSC editorial office to beat up the persons who deserve it, I would give them my blessing for this. Beatings are regarded as signs of progressing barbarity in political life, but then progress toward barbarity may sometimes be a sound move." On Catholic columnist [Stefan Kisielewski] Kisiel, Urban writes, "he doesn't give a damn," "he cannot get it up any more," he is "aged," and old man who "certainly deserves being sent into retirement." Describing his subjects--positive or negative (but mostly the latter)--Rem violates conventions, deliberately and ostentatiously farts in living rooms looking gratified as society people hold their noses. Some leave slamming the doors behind them, but most of them stay to read his columns wanting to know at whom Rem is going to throw mud this time. They need not wait too long, for in the foreword to the latest collection, which he trusts to history to judge, Rem writes comfortingly, "the judgment of history may well come only from that half of today's babies who wet their diapers without using cocks." If this author did not hold a prominent position in government, he would probably write much more freely and crudely. But even the way he writes now is enough not only to destroy more than the existing conventions, the orthodox style and mode of thought. Social provocation, in his case, is designed to violate more than just good manners.

It is dished out in a provocative style. Rem's talent far exceeds his education, and hence he sometimes lacks the right word, quotation, or literary reference; his treatment of some topics is sometimes amateurish (say, economics) where he makes up for his ignorance with cleverness, with common sense and wit, which he cloaks in pseudoscientific vocabulary. Wittiness, brightness, quick, apt association, intellectual originality, unmatched acuity and scope of perception, intellectual vividness, humor (sometimes bordering on silliness) are the assets of Urban's columns. They dazzle, captivate, or shock the public, even though they are based on a solid education like that of [POLITYKA columnist Krzysztof Teodor] Teoplitz, or an erudition like that of [Jan Zbigniew] Slojewski, or an excellent (musical) ear like that of Kisiel. Just imagine what might happen if Rem were a graduate of the Jagiellonian University. But as things are, you will occasionally find overscholarly formulations, or stylistic absurdities such as the observation that feuilletons, which fulfill the didactic role so common among the intelligentsia, "were the director of synthesizing thinking," for example.

In recent years, political provocation has become the most prominent among all Rem's provocations. In the past this author was fond of enraging both the authorities and the reading public, was ordered to stop writing or working as a journalist, and had to publish under pseudonyms (in POLITYKA or ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE among others).

Recently his relations with the authorities have been marked by an unending honeymoon, but those with the public--or at least with a considerable segment of it--amount to a cutthroat war, which he seems to relish with astounding masochism. Years of training have left their mark on him.

Urban-Rem used to be admired for his outstanding provocative writing. While infuriating the groups he attacked, he also won recognition from people hostile to those groups or contemptuous of the values attacked. Ridiculing marriage he ran a definite risk, but he also won recognition from the numerous though unavowed misogynists; reviling women he incurred their outrage, but he also earned tacit gratitude from many a misogynist; referring to children as bastards he generated disgust, but also admiration. In other words, on aggregate he was applauded for skillfully provoking others.

Lonely Rider With Pen In His Holster

But all that was lost when Rem stood up against Solidarity and clericalism, two values that many regarded as symbols of God and motherland. Whatever Urban's legion of adversaries, from some Sejm deputies who sent protest letters to the government to his former colleagues (such as [former POLITYKA columnist] Dariusz Fikus) who in their old age have come to associate with the opposition and publish lampoons attacking their former friend abroad, may say, Rem was the first and only outstanding Polish columnist to perceive the danger inherent in Solidarity and the Gdansk Accords from the very beginning, when he loudly proclaimed, "Neither in the autumn of 1980 nor especially in the spring of 1981 did I share what then was quite a common belief that, after some paroxysms, the independent Solidarity Union would adapt itself to socialist reality (...). In Solidarity, I felt no dynamic reforming force but only dynamic force out to bring about a revolt."

Sensing and fearing, or anticipating, an upcoming catastrophe, Urban had the courage to voice his views, and later, after martial law was proclaimed, he made no bones about his satisfaction when, as Rem, he lashed his defeated adversaries. He puts "the values of 1981" in quotation marks as dubious calling them "compromised slogans." He refers to his adversaries as an "oppositionist horde," and vows never again to spell the eighth month of the year with a capital letter [refers to the origin of Solidarity]. Not only his style, but also his judgments may seem shocking. Thus, for instance, after the [May 1983] PRON Congress Rem finds that "The opposition commands no remarkable public support." The opposition's idols are treated with utter contempt by him. He ridicules [Stefan] Bratkowski, demolishes [novelist Tadeusz] Konwicki, treats politically vocal priests as political enemies and has no qualms about lifting the hem of their cassocks.

Unlike his predecessor Urban, Rem is exclusively a political columnist. He has lost interest in everything else. His writing has become strangely mono-thematic, even obsessive, just like that of some oppositionist columnists who are unable to forget about the system. Rem is a militant and determined columnist who does not seek popularity and is as provocative as ever. He is a champion of struggle, not of conciliation. But in his columns far-sighted, acute observations mingle with demagogic and superficial judgments.

Let me start with several examples of his penetrating political comments. Writing on Wajda as artist and as politician (?), Rem skillfully draws a distinction between these two activities of Wajda--against Wajda as an anti-communist, but for Wajda as an artist. Rem defends Wajda's right to work as a creative artist and urges the creation of conditions for Wajda to work freely while barring him from engaging in political activity. This, incidentally, is a somewhat artificial distinction for work by artists of Wajda's stature is often political in character, but this is another matter.

Rem gives a truthful picture of the journalistic community, exposing its frustration and poses, in particular its compunctions about having helped push the propaganda of success [in the Gierek era], a fact activists of the [new banned] journalists' association SDP tried to atone for by zealously fighting the authorities.

He casts a sharp eye at those party members who eagerly castigate their former comrades for having carried high the red banner in the past. "This denunciation and vilification of our adversaries by holding their former socialist orientation out to them is indicative of an underlying political paranoia. Some of our columnists," writes Rem in a polemic with the weekly RZECZWISTOSC, "give you the feeling they have borrowed from oppositionist extremists their view that collaboration with communists has always been a disgrace." He breaks the factionist yardstick with which those over-zealous guardians of loyalty and truth to principle measure every collaborator's degree of loyalty before accusing him of yet another deviation. Here is a very acute observation of Rem's, "The mechanism of wasting the left's intellectual potential works also in this way: If you are with us 90 percent, you will be clobbered for the missing 10 percent. This will be done by those who are with us 110 percent but who represent only a 5 percent creative potential and so take care to shoot off all potentially more talented rivals."

Fond of attacking old and new oppositionists, Rem justly points out that their critical remarks of the present state of things in Poland often involve a "Schadenfreude" [malicious joy in other people's misfortunes] which arises from the rule "The worse the situation becomes, the better it is for us." Writes Rem [about an economic article in the Catholic TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY], "Ernest Skalski's text is irritating not because of its inaccuracies or outdated observations, but for other reasons. It betrays a note of satisfaction with society's discontent over the economic situation."

Similarly, and generally justly, Rem characterizes the motives of U.S. policies toward Poland, in particular the Reagan Administration's instrumental treatment of Poland in its rivalry with the Soviet Union, with communism in general, and in lobbying for votes.

Rem also clearly sees possible consequences of the encouragement Washington is giving the Polish opposition. Writing about Western presentations of the situation in Poland following the proclamation of martial law, Rem concludes, "The U.S. Administration has its hand tied by its own propaganda, and this in turn has been working by sheer inertia. Your average American may one day be stupefied to see his government trying to improve its relations with Warsaw,

with a Polish leadership which is composed of sadists cocking their guns as soon as they hear the word 'culture,' ordering treacherous assassination, and preparing concentration camps. American propaganda has set a trap for American politics."

It must be conceded that, as columnist, Rem does not court his public, does not behave coquettishly toward his readers, and seems to wish recognition more than popularity. But not even this is very important to him, because he holds no particularly high opinion of his readers. Maybe he cares seriously only about what a few people think about him, because he regards society as politically primitive and not yet ripe enough to stand up to the high requirements of Poland's present situation. Society must first be educated and brought to reason, and this is precisely what he, Jan Rem, is doing. "Democracy presupposes a high degree of rationalism on the part of human masses, and thus a gradual education toward this goal, toward reaching a kind of maturity for voting. Instinctive and simple reactions often nourish dispositions incompatible with interests of the majority. Demagogues easily and fondly control such reactions."

We are probably committing no great mistake saying that Rem believes in an authority that knows better what is in the majority's best interest than the majority itself. Just what kind of government Rem would really like is difficult to say. We can only guess it should resemble the present one, because Rem is a committed propagandist and advocate of post-December Party and the government policies. As for his personal views, he declares himself to be "a follower of gradual, judiciously implemented, practically tested, harmonious, rational and realistic changes, including tentative reforms with built-in hold-back mechanisms to touch off when necessary." Rem makes changes subject to so many conditions that we can safely say he is anything but an iconoclast; on the contrary--Rem would loosen the screw very cautiously as though it were made of glass, doing it slowly, tentatively, harmoniously etc. However, Rem does not divulge how to handle the overpressure beneath the screw? Or doesn't he know?

This advocate of change who is so careful to play it safe, nevertheless willingly plunges into polemics with dogmatics, who resent any kind of change and turn a nostalgic eye to the 1950s and 1960s. Rem calls them dinosaurs. They are "implacable zealots" who tried to squeeze the complex reality into simplistic doctrinaire formulas getting furious that rulers cannot trim real life in such a way so as to fit it into their ideal of socialism." While they frequently invoke the working class, "nobody is following them save a tiny handful of employees of the phrase-producing industry." [Columnist] Barut of the weekly RZECZYWISTOSC tries "to push us back to something like a political Tertiary." They want to push us back, writes Rem, into a "political cave" and propose to fight their duels "with cudgels." In his polemics with RZECZYWISTOSC Rem says political life in Poland sometimes goes to a level lower than "the level of dinosaurs." People such as Drozdowski, Lenart, Pardus, or Rogowski of [the weekly] ARGUMENTY, do not seem sympathetic figures to Rem; their threatening tones, their tendency to smell an enemy in everyone, their theory that everything (especially all their failures, literary or others) is brought about by a hostile mafia--all this is a kind of thinking Rem ridicules. But although he has paid much attention and used much ink to write about them, Rem seems to

underrate this current's viability and influence which he attributes--wrongly, in my view--to a tiny handful of those working in the "phrase-producing industry." But Rem does need this tiny handful of people, because their existence enables him to lash out now and then in the opposite direction and save his reputation of a columnist who is basically moderate and reasonable and who stands out as such compared to some much more dangerous people.

Now that we have pointed out several correct political observations let us also look at Rem's inaccuracies, half-truths and untruths which, in addition to his demagogical tones, prevent almost anybody from fully endorsing what Rem writes, even though the perusal of his texts may be really delicious. The greatest flaw of Rem's columns is that they do not stand up to the reading public's aspirations, which is far more serious a charge than ordinary contrariness. Rem occasionally shoots about him blindly, flaunts as deep what are actually shallow observations, betrays a contrary disposition which makes him contemptuous of other views that may be widely held in Poland, and, finally, has a tendency to underrate adversaries on both wings.

Let us start with trifles, for people read closely and will miss nothing. Says Rem, government brings no privileges with it today, especially not to those placed higher up in the hierarchy. We would gladly believe this, but then, why did the book discussed here ("Essays for Other People's Wives") come out of press so quickly? Essays printed in the press in the autumn of 1984 appear in book form within a mere 3 months. Many an essayist in Poland would be happy to wait 1 year and 3 months to get his collection of weekly columns published in book form.

Elsewhere Rem tells his readers that Polish society is very well informed, so if somebody feels he is not "let him buy [the government's official daily] RZECPOSPOLITA along with its supplements and let him watch television." While I do believe Polish society today is incomparably better informed than before the August of 1980 and that the Government has kept its promise to work on an open stage (for which the government spokesman Jerzy Urban should also be commended), I should warn against exaggerations--a great deal of information either does not reach citizens or reaches them in a curtailed form, and a lot of it comes too late, so that any thinking individual tries to develop his picture of the actual picture of things from two sources--the official one and a foreign source. This is especially true of some foreign publications on Polish matters, of policies toward the opposition, or of personnel matters, which elsewhere take a lot of space in the media and here to generate great interest which is then nourished mainly by rumors about moods and events in different regions, incidents during public disturbances such as those by St Martin's Church in Warsaw, the exact course of Polish trips by foreign politicians or the conjectured topics of talks. In the area of information and discussion, many domains are now better off than they used to be, but not to the extent of justifying any alleged "overinformation," as Rem puts it.

Rem also argues that the remorse and atonement journalists felt in 1980 were unjustified or exaggerated. "It is a pity that in the fall of 1980 the party leadership did not stand up strongly in defense of the journalistic community against the detachment of self-appointed prosecutors who formed inside this

community." Rem should first answer the question, how could that have helped the journalists? Only few people kept in their desks texts that had previously been confiscated. Not even so prestigious writers as Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski could publish their books so they showed them only to a few people taking particular care not to let them be smuggled abroad. Television screens and newspaper columns exuded the sweetness and untruth so typical of the propaganda of success. Suffice it to recall what the press wrote in 1976 about participants in the [June] events in Radom. The crisis of confidence in the press was a derivative of the general crisis of confidence in the authorities, and so journalists would hardly have been helped by the leadership's intervention on their behalf.

Gentlemen are said never to quarrel over facts, but Rem will find it difficult to persuade his readers that "The imposition of martial law in December found approval or understanding from two-thirds of all society. A significant part of the remaining one-third viewed this as a natural event." This estimate implies that some 75-80 percent of Poles did not react negatively to martial law. Had that been so, martial law wouldn't have been necessary at all.

Too often, as when saying that people inside the power system deserve privileged treatment in granting homes, Rem unfortunately tries resorts to skillful though superficial observations in order to lead his readers away from the housing problem, which is particularly painful here in Poland.

This is also what he does when writing about temporary changes in penitentiary policies, such as calls for more severe punishments and repressive measures in response to actual or alleged demands from the people. As a stranger in the land of philosophy of law, I am less sure of myself when treading this ground than Rem, but I do share KTT's view (which Rem attacks) that the law should not be adapted to current exigencies or demands voiced during demonstrations, nor that it should be used to win approval and applause. Not so Rem, who writes, "Adapting the law to the reality, amending laws as soon as they have disclosed their flaws--these are signs of flexible government, one which is attentive to the people's voice. (...) Those new legal provisions regarding taxes or the fighting of alcoholism, which KTT disparages as wrong in various senses, were produced under pressure from different social groups. Throughout history, penalties for deeds which were particularly dangerous at the given moment tended to become more severe than before." As I see it, Rem is wrong, to put it mildly. For example, in reaction to a rapidly spreading use of marihuana in the United States, the U.S. authorities legalized such deeds and refrained from prosecuting people committing them, even though many experts regard marihuana as no less harmful a product than tobacco or alcohol. If both the police and the pententiaries had failed, just what could be done? Much the same is true of economic offenses. As is known, above a certain level of severity, punishment stops being effective, and not even death sentences prevent people from committing such offenses. Mismanagement is a crime in Poland, and one which entails severe punishment, but see what is happening.

Another debatable idea of Rem's is that "being in opposition gives you a more comfortable life, not only in the material sense. Being in opposition enables you to be totally irresponsible for the state, for social relations, for the future of our national community."

When the opposition stands no chance of coming to power or influencing the authority, the matter is more complex than Rem would like to admit. What does Rem advise those to do who take a different view of the nation's future than he does? For example, there used to be a nonanticommunist opposition in Poland, people in prosocialist or neutral circles who were increasingly concerned or unhappy about the manner of government during the 1950s, the late 1960s and the 1970s; inside the party, resistance was growing among people who had no influence on decisionmaking although decisions were made on their behalf and so they had to take the blame. Did their "oppositionism" relieve them of their responsibilities? Who proved actually more responsible for the nation's future, the critics or the authors of a rapid-growth policy financed with foreign loans?

The above-quoted view was expressed by Rem as an aside in a polemic over an article on economic matters published in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. Rem should be reminded that many critical voices concerning, say, policies of the 1970s came both from the system's critics and advocates, as well as from people without any avowed political affiliation.

Since power in Poland is held by the communist party, since there is no alternative to it, and since internal party life is governed by democratic centralism, Rem fails to disclose any possibility of voicing one's opposition but rules right from beginning that an oppositionist has "a more comfortable life." But critics willing to relinquish this comfortable position in favor of taking upon their shoulders the burden of responsibility for Poland can hardly do so because Poland is and will be a socialist country, and any other possibility is imponderable. If Rem does not want to share the burden of responsibility with his polemists, then he should not charge them with holding a comfortable position as long as he himself keeps them in it.

Another mistake appears in Rem's reflections on the so-called unanimity of society and on differences in views. Since the opposition is fond of speaking on behalf of all society, all the nation, or all of Poland, Rem has for some time now been fond of underlining that society is divided, differing in its reactions and opinions. This is a new element in official columnism, which always used to insist that the people is fully behind the authorities, a phenomenon called ideological-and-political unity in the 1970s. Rem writes that on the matter of amnesty the public was divided, with some (a minority) believing that Solidarity leaders should not yet be let out. But if three in four citizens wanted them released, and said this in reply to a question asked by an official government agency, then Rem's example sounds oddly unconvincing.

Far From Reality

These examples of Rem's inaccuracies should suffice. For want of space I cannot quote others. It is high time to finish the story. Apart from the advantages and weaknesses I have mentioned, Rem's essays are worthy of mention on account of a few other features too.

A Rem essay always was and is now widely read. It is regarded as an attraction of whatever journal it may appear. This is all the more impressive if you recall that Rem won his public not be flattering people but, on the contrary, sparing it not even the most bitter words.

However, his essays give no adequate picture of the country in which we live. Because he is now so onesidedly fixed on politics, Rem presents only a fighting ring illuminated by spotlights while the audience remains in the dark. But when you go to the Torwar Hall in Warsaw to watch a boxing match (Rem never does this because, despite being a fighter himself, he scorns competitive sport), you will notice a well-lit ring down in the center, but you also stand or sit so far from the ring (better seats are, as a rule, unavailable) that, squeezed between two other fans, you get a better sight of the public than of the fighters, you smell the odor of beer, vodka and cigarettes, you hear crude roars and see sweating faces. So, you cannot possibly be in doubt whose the public usually takes. That public will tell you more about Poland than the two fighters out there, far in the bottom ring in the hall. A columnist, of course, is not a reporter and so has no duty of describing whatever he notices; he may well confine himself to writing about his own fascinations.

But it is unquestionable that if you consider a political conflict in isolation from the reality of life in a country, you consider it as an abstract phenomenon which has no relation to homes, railway stations, canteens, churches, hospitals, taprooms, and all other places which together make up what is the real-life Poland.

Another of Rem's idiosyncrasies is his tendency to rationalize or pseudorationalize the things he describes. According to Rem, social and political life is totally rational; what is right deserves being backed, also by force; a minority which can think should make the decisions because this minority is right; arguments should be the ultimate weapons, emotions should be banned, sympathies do not exist or are politically insignificant; and anyway, politics and social life are just a machine the workings of which should be plain to everyone. Rem disparages everything which in politics--or in the reading public--is irrational, mystical, tradition-bound, atavistic, inexpressible by argument or logically uncontrollable. In a country like Poland, this kind of columnism is doomed to have a very narrow appeal. Great columnism, something which Rem rightly aspires to in his essays, cannot be only brilliant, committed, nay even fully correct. Provocation alone does not crown the job. True, by his provocations Rem has been building up a relatively consistent system to which even his contrariness is subordinated. But, how can you win the heart of somebody whom you attack week by week? Columnism, after all, should also be effective, among other things, and it can be so only when a reader has been persuaded to join the author's side, to blame an ally. But to this end Rem would have to make concessions, and this is one thing Rem dislikes doing in front of readers. Sure, he does make concessions, but only to forces more powerful than other people's wives, whom he is fond of provoking and wooing to the side of legality while others are enticing them into illicit affairs.

CSO: 2020/77

POLAND

DEVELOPMENTS IN NEW TRADE UNION PRESENTED

Organizational Problems Discussed

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Feb 85 p 3

[Interview with Leszek Komorowski, chairman of the Trade Union Federation of Sugar Industry Workers, deputy chairman of the Trade Union Federation of Food Industry Workers, member of the Labor Security Council, and member of the OPZZ [Nationwide Trade Union Agreement] Council, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz, staff member of RZECZPOSPOLITA; date and place not specified: "Paving the Way for the Trade Unions"]

[Text] [Question] Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: After applying reforms we have self-managing, self-dependent and self-financing enterprises. What role can the trade unions play and what role are they playing?

[Answer] Leszek Komorowski: The role of the union in such an enterprise is usually small. The law on trade unions was the last to be passed. It was preceded by the laws on an enterprise and on self-management. Perhaps that is why the workers' councils also have more powers and more experience. They have been functioning much longer than our organizations. We can only give opinions and make proposals. There are not too many areas in which our consent is required, perhaps only in the case of immediate dismissals. The entire authority rests with the workers' councils. They can ignore us or not. It happens that they ignore us deliberately. The management recognizes the strong, and the council has strength. It can reprimand the manager, evaluate him, or even dismiss him. And what can we do to him?

[Question] From what you say it appears that you yearn for at least a part of this authority, that you envy the authority that the workers' council has.

[Answer] We do not want power. We do not want to run things.

[Question] Then what is at stake? I believe the law gave you enormous means, based mainly on opposition, on the ability, through collective disputes, to fight for those matters which are most vital to you and the workforce. You can also see to it that the manager or other representative of authority who ignores you pays a 50,000 zlotys fine out of his own pocket. Isn't that enough? Except that I have not yet heard that any factory union in the country has taken advantage of this. I don't know whether your weakness lies in the inadequacy of the law...

I have another doubt. Every union member is a member of the self-management. If you predominate in the workforce, if you know how to conduct an elections fight, you can take over the council. The elections are now being held.

[Answer] When I said the above I was looking from our own point of view, that of the sugar industry. We are in a peculiar situation. Our enterprises are made up of a few to several sugar factories. At the level of each sugar factory is a council and the union board. At the level of the enterprise, however, there is only the council, there is no legal union board. We are forming some kind of chairmen's bodies, but they have no legal sanction. Therefore on the level which is most important, we have a gap. Without changes in the law we cannot change the actual state.

[Question] Do you have many conflicts with the workers' councils?

[Answer] Not too many, but they happen. The interests of individuals are not always in agreement with the interests of the enterprise. You have to know how to gage this parochialism, and our activists are just beginning to learn how to do this. When out of three sugar factories two are operating at a loss and one is showing a profit, the council always votes that the profit and the prize be divided equally. Our opposition was unsuccessful although it was understandable. We stood in defense of those who were doing the best work, particularly since most sugar factories are over 100 years old and the machinery and equipment are falling apart and people are endangering their health. What do you do in case of such an event as happened in the Glinojeck sugar factory, where tanks containing molasses ruptured? There were enormous losses and costs of repairs. How do you explain this to the workforce? The State Insurance Bureau will not cover everything.

[Question] The gap connected with the lack of union counterparts on the management level in multi-factory enterprises arouses understandable opposition in you and your people. But you have no answer (except a declaration) to the question whether you want a share in running the factory.

[Answer] We were not only the last to be established, but this was done with great effort. The councils, composed in large measure of activists from the old unions, have been working for a long time already. They were resentful of us regardless of their own organizational origin. Now this is beginning to change a little, but it is being seen.

[Question] Will a change in the law ensure you authority and popularity?

[Answer] No, but it will enhance the prestige of our activists.

[Question] I doubt it.

[Answer] That is what they say and we cannot ignore that. But even under the present conditions we are making progress. When we had our last congress we had 6,000 members, now we have 19,000, and union membership in most sugar factories is close to 70 percent.

[Question] Perhaps more concretely. What kind of amendments are you demanding in your law?

[Answer] Some of the powers which the unions formerly had need to be restored. We are referring, for example, to protection for the board members. They work voluntarily, their term of office is short, primarily 2 years. It is very easy for management, after this term has ended, to take it out on the activists who were a little too militant.

[Question] And so you want stronger protection?

[Answer] For at least 2 years.

[Question] And protection from the newly elected board is not enough?

[Answer] Surely not. People differ. That may also be the mysterious "timidity" of many of our activists. The matter of releasing our officials from work to hold union offices also must be settled. The release must be official so that allowing an official to return to his job after his term of office has expired is not dependent on an "evaluation" by the management or the workers' council. The factory organizations are too poor to pay the salaries of their activists, particularly in the federation. In our federation I am the only one holding a full-time paid office. One full-time slot for the entire federation. And what about the ability to conduct our own studies, the availability of legal advice and professional assistance to the boards?

[Question] Who is supposed to give you money? The state? I doubt that...

[Answer] I will not give you the remedy but the matter is urgent. The law should restore the unions' full control over industrial medical treatment, the vacation fund, and the social insurances. That is how it is in other socialist states and everything is all right. And why should there be state inspection of labor when labor security is lawfully within the purview of the union members? It should be under us just as it was not too long ago.

[Question] Are there frequent disputes with the management as to jurisdiction?

[Answer] They happen. One of the union secretaries is often moved from one position to another because he is a union activist on a voluntary basis.

[Question] And the board, which has both the law and the labor code available to it, sees this and does nothing?

[Answer] The manager ignores the board.

[Question] You have a powerful weapon in such disputes. The board does not have to plead with the manager. It can file a complaint against him.

[Answer] Our statutes do not give us the right to strike, just as the entire food industry does not have the right to strike.

[Question] I am not referring immediately to a strike. The legal way is long and troublesome for the management. There are also the labor courts.

[Answer] Yes, except that the proceedings drag on for a long time. The term of office ends and the management deals very quickly with such a former board. Our activists are young and new. Is it surprising that many of them are simply afraid?

[Question] For me that is not the most convincing argument, but it is hard to debate. The main task of the unions is to defend the working people--their standard of living, working conditions, their dignity. What is the position of the federation on the price increases?

[Answer] I cannot yet speak for the federation because we are still gathering opinions. We have set 10 February as the deadline. From what we already know it appears that people chose the variant which provides for the lowest increases and the highest offsets. Perhaps they chose the lowest because average earnings in our branch are around 15,000 zlotys monthly. Of course, they vary according to the season. Sometimes they exceed 30,000 and the rest of the year they amount to 9,000 a month.

[Question] And what do you personally, as chairman, think about the increase?

[Answer] Here I have a problem. As a union member I am against the increase because the balance price, over 90 zlotys for a kilo of sugar, is too much. But as a sugar-factory employee, I would like to see a higher price because it would put our factories on their feet and eliminate subsidies. In any case, elimination of subsidies doesn't help us either since in view of the miserable rationing we won't sell more anyway.

We believe that the weakest must be protected--the pensioners, the annuitants, those earning the least. We must, for example, increase the minimum wage.

[Question] The earnings structure will flatten out even more and the least-skilled and do-nothings will gain from this.

[Answer] That is why the approach must be very comprehensive. In our factories frequently the managing director is in 30th place in amount of salary. That is ridiculous. Offsets, assistance, or other similar temporary measures are not the solution. The approach to wages must be all-encompassing so that it will not be necessary sometime in the future to hunt for directors.

Position on Price Hikes

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Feb 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] Prof Zdzislaw Krasinski, minister of price affairs, met on 14 February with three commissions at the same time: domestic trade, small-scale production and services; social policy; health and physical culture; and the economic plan, budget and finances.

The purpose of the meeting was to inform the deputies of the results obtained thus far from the social consultation on the proposed price increases and the partial lifting of rationing.

At the same time the deputies relayed their opinions and those of their electors.

In view of the nature of the meeting, the commissions did not take an official position on any of the variants.

The situation is similar, it appears from the minister's extensive report, on the results of the consultation thus far. Basically the minister talked about the same matters as at the meeting held earlier this month by the sejm's socio-economic council, reported in ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

Professor Krasinski said somewhat jokingly that, as a matter of fact, the picture was clearer the first week of consultation than it is now, 6 weeks later. As the discussion developed, the two extreme opinions on the Price Office proposals increased percentagewise. This was revealed in the approximately 8,000 letters which the ministries received and from the positions taken by various social organizations, as well as from polls conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center and the Center for Public Opinion Studies, replies to the questionnaire published in the press, letters to the newspapers, and discussions in the press and on radio and television.

Approximately 20-25 percent of the people who are pensioners or annuitants, young workers, or who have large families, are generally against price increases and a good number of them are also against the lifting of rationing because they are afraid of market disruptions, difficulties in obtaining food, etc.

The second group, just as large, takes precisely the opposite view. It is in favor of complete discontinuance of rationing (even meat), discontinuance of subsidies, and increasing prices to the point of making them profitable. Part of this group is also in favor of higher price-increase offsets. The people who favor this solution are those who have above-average incomes, and include skilled workers, craftsmen, farmers and--wonder of wonders--students. In any case, this group contains a large number of persons with a higher education.

The percentage amount of these "extreme" groups is much lower than in previous price consultations. The "middle", however, is so differentiated, is in favor of such different proposals, that it is hard to determine what dominates. Less is said about the prices themselves. On the other hand, many of the statements pertain to problems of a broader nature, such as how the cost of living or the offsets are calculated, etc. As to rationing, the fears concern whether or not it can be lifted. It is asked that it be reduced cautiously and gradually and that ongoing studies of market behavior be conducted.

--In this situation, the minister said, there is no unequivocal opinion on which a decision can be based. We are somewhat helpless. What should be select out of the two extreme opinions?

A very large number of statements relate to the generally prevalent waste of food, raw materials and goods, and their low quality. Unfortunately, many of the demands are addressed "to the top", and after all these losses occur nowhere else than "at the bottom"--in factories, transportation, trade, etc. The minister attended many meetings at which, unfortunately, seldom was there any talk about what was being done in a given plant so that there would be less waste and prices would be calculated honestly.

Is it possible to say who is for which variant? From this standpoint, too, the results of the studies differ. For example, of those polled by the Center for Public Opinion Studies 30 percent admitted that they are not thoroughly familiar with the materials presented for discussion, but are expressing themselves in favor of one of the variants. And the Price Office newspaper questionnaire brings these results: 18 percent are for variant 1 and about 50 percent are for variant 3, the most far-reaching one. The annuitants are mainly for variant 1 and the farmers for variant 3.

The opinions show that people are disturbed most of all by the "convergence" of various price increases: food, energy, rents. The exclusion of group 3 - disabled persons of a specific age group from the price-increase offsets continues to arouse doubt.

There are many demands that opinions should not be sought on specific price increases, but that a study should be made of the level of prices in relation to the cost of living, and that the reaction to the situation should be commensurate.

During the discussion the deputies asked many questions and relayed the opinions of their electors. Basically, they did not deviate from those which we have been reporting for several weeks in ZYCIE WARSZAWY. The deputies were very strong in their criticism of the growth in prices of means of production obtained by farmers.

It was also demanded that a price policy be formulated which would not cause misconceptions to arise among the people, that the average citizen not believe that price moves, all being made at the same time, stem from immediate goals and not from a long-range program to restore balance. Most important of all are real incomes, which should not shrink.

In responding to questions, the representatives of the offices of trade and agriculture explained the realities of the lifting of rationing. According to their assurances, there are sufficient reserves of stocks to fully cover demand if rationing is lifted. The representative of the ministry of labor, wages and social affairs reported on the "cushioning" measures (offsets, raises in pensions and annuities, allowances).

In closing the meeting, deputy Jan Kaminski, who conducted it, called attention once more to its informational nature. Hence the commissions are not making decisions on their position. As a matter of fact, what it comes down to is this: The price hikes, in total, cannot, in accordance with the National Annual Plan for 1985, exceed 9 percent and, together with the "spillover"

from last year's increases, cannot exceed 12-13 percent. At the same time, according to the National Annual Plan, there must be an increase in emoluments, incomes and social services. Specific action must be taken on the growth of incomes and price-increase offsets for various social groups: workers employed in the so-called "nonproductive" area and annuitants and pensioners.

Resolution Issued

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 54, 30 Nov 84 p 655

[Text] 276 Council of State Resolution Dated 26 November 1984 on Application of the Provisions of the Law on Trade Unions Pertaining to the Startup of Activities by Nationwide Inter-Union Organizations.

In view of the initiative of the union organizations aimed at integrating the union movement, the Council of State, based on art 53, pars 4 and 5 of the law dated 8 October 1982 on trade unions (DZIENNIK USTAW No 32, item 216, No 39, item 176, 1983, and No 21, item 101, 1984), proclaims as follows:

§ 1. The establishment of a nationwide inter-union organization takes place on the strength of an agreement of nationwide union organizations expressed in a resolution issued at an assembly of authorized representatives.

§ 2. The Nationwide Trade Union Agreement, established on 24 November 1984 by 108 representatives from 122 nationwide union organizations assembled at Bytom, is a nationwide inter-union organization within the meaning of the provisions of the law dated 8 October 1982 on trade unions (DZIENNIK USTAW No 32, item 216, No 39, item 176, 1983, and No 21, item 101, 1984).

§ 3. The Nationwide Trade Union Agreement referred to in § 2 may begin its activities on the day that it was established, that is, on a date earlier than that provided in art 53, par 1, pt 3 of the law dated 8 October 1982 on trade unions.

§ 4. The resolution must be published in DZIENNIK USTAW of the Polish People's Republic and is effective on the date of publication and is valid as of 24 November 1984.

/s/ H. Jablonski, Chairman of the Council of State

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CSO: 2600/646

POLAND

BRIEFS

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF HEBDA--Upon the recommendation of the minister of materials management, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Prof Dr Hab Michal Hebda to the post of undersecretary of state of this office. Michal Hebda was born in 1929 in Doly in Tarnow Province to a peasant family. He studied at the Gdansk Polytechnical School and the Military Technical Academy, from which he graduated with a masters degree in engineering. In 1963, he received his doctorate in technical sciences and in 1967 at the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy in Krakow he received the title of Dr Habilitatus in the field of technical sciences with a specialty in machine building technology. In 1973, the State Council awarded him the academic title of associate professor. He has 30 years of academic and scientific-research work experience behind him. Between the years 1955 and 1975, he was at first a scientific-research worker and then a scientific academic employee at the Military Technical Academy. From 1975, he acted as the rector of the Swiety Krzyz Polytechnical School in Kielce and later, until 1982, he served as rector of the Higher School of Engineering in Radom. Between 1982 and 1983 he was sent to GDR, where he was a professor at the Technische Hochschule in Magdeburg. From September of 1983 he has been employed as a professor at the Higher School of Engineering in Radom. He is highly regarded in the country and abroad as a specialist of high caliber in the field of machine and equipment operation. He is also the author of numerous books and papers in this field. He is a member of the PZPR. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

SOVIET DELEGATION MET--A delegation of the CPSU Central Committee Department of Propaganda, under the leadership of the Department of Propaganda director and CPSU Central Committee member B.I. Stukalin, paid a visit to Poland between the 21st and 26th of this month. During the visit, information was exchanged about experiences in ideological-political and propaganda work, and the state of cooperation of our parties in those areas was discussed. The delegation met with Politburo candidate member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary J. Glowczyk and with PZPR Central Committee Secretary H. Bednarski, and conducted talks with the management of the following Central Committee departments: Ideological, Information, Press, Radio and Television. It also met with the editorial staff of TRYBUNA LUDU. The delegation visited Gdansk, where it met with Politburo candidate member and PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary S. Bejger. The

Soviet guests met with the party aktiv of the Gdansk work plants. In Warsaw, the delegation held a discussion with Politburo member and PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary M. Wozniak. It also visited some of Warsaw's work plants. At the conclusion of the visit to our country, the delegation was received by Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary J. Czyrek. PZPR Central Committee department directors W. Loranc and W. Natorf participated in the meeting. Minister V. Sviryn, the USSR embassy's advisor, was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

RAKOWSKI MEETS RECTORS--On the 24th of this month, Deputy Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski met with the rectors of higher pedagogical schools. The following were present: Docent Karol Poznanski, rector of the Higher Pedagogical School [WSP] in Warsaw; Prof Kazimierz Nowak, rector of the WSP in Bydgoszcz; Docent Edward Polanowski, rector of the WSP in Czestochowa; Prof Zdzislaw Czarny, rector of the WSP in Kielce; Prof Mieczyslaw Rozmus, rector of the WSP in Krakow; Docent Jan Sikora, rector of the WSP in Olsztyn; Prof Jozef Lipiec, rector of the WSP in Rzeszow; Prof Andrzej Czarnik, rector of the WSP in Slupsk; Docent Kazimierz Jaskot, rector of the WSP in Szczecin; the Docent Kazimierz Bartkiewicz, rector of the WSP in Zielona Gora. During the meeting, the most important problems related to the operation and administration of higher pedagogical schools were discussed. The sociopolitical situation in these institutions of higher learning was discussed on the basis of recommendations presented by the rectors to the proposed changes in the law of 4 May 1982 on higher schools which [proposed changes] were published by the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee in RZECZPOSPOLITA on the 3rd of this month. Prof Benon Miskiewicz, minister of Science, higher education and technology, took part in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

RESEARCH COOPERATION WITH ARMY--On 31 January, a joint session of the administrative board of the Academy of Social Sciences and of the representatives of the Military Political Academy was held. The directions and principles of cooperation between the two academic institutions were discussed in the light of the national conference of social sciences. A plan of action for the upcoming period was agreed upon. The meeting was presided over by Prof Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, and by Div Gen Wladyslaw Polanski, commanding officer of the Military Political Academy. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Feb 85 p 5] 9853

ACADEMIC EXCHANGE OUTLINED--On 31 January, a meeting was held between the scientific secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Prof Zdzislaw Kaczmarek, and the representatives of embassies of the socialist countries in Warsaw. The meeting was devoted to the intensification of bilateral and multilateral cooperation of the academies of science of those countries. Particular attention was paid to the necessity of the proper formation of the problems of joint research for the years 1986 to 1990 in connection with the plans in this regard within the framework of CEMA. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Feb 85 p 5] 9853

IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE HELD--A conference of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission was held. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek presided over the deliberations. The topic of the deliberations were the program assumptions of the 19th Central Committee plenum, which will be devoted to the role and place of the intelligentsia in the socialist development of Poland. In the course of the discussion, attention was focused on the draft plan of the theses for the report paper by enlarging on the elements which define the role of the intelligentsia in the process of socialist renewal and its chances and responsibilities in solving the problems of economic, scientific-technological, cultural and educational development and in strengthening stabilization and normalization, which are the preconditions for meeting the challenge created by civilizational development and by the policy of confrontation. The commission accepted the work plan for the first half of this year.

[Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2-3 Feb 85 p 2] 9853

KUBIAK ATTENDS GALLERY OPENING--In Zakopane, Wladyslaw Hasior's [art] gallery was opened in the old "lounging" area of the former Warszawianka sanatorium. The gallery is a branch of the Tytus Chalubinski Museum of the Tatra Mountain Region. The following took part in the opening ceremonies: Prof Hieronim Kubiak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member; Prof Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of culture and art; and leaders of Nowy Sacz Province. Wladyslaw Hasior was given the medal commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2-3 Feb 85 p 2] 9853

BEDNARSKI CHAIRS SESSION--On 30 January, a session of the Central Committee Task Group for the Economic Education of the Public was held under the chairmanship of PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski. The tasks involving the economic education of plant work forces, arising from the resolutions of the 18th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, were discussed. Information was presented on the work being done in the area of putting out a publication series entitled "The Workers Self-Government Booklet Series." Recommendations and proposals for the draft plan of the schedule of implementation of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo document "Economic Education of the Polish Public--Fundamental Problems and Tasks" were also discussed. That same day, at a conference of the leading provincial task groups for economic education of the public, a paper was presented, entitled "The Main Tasks in the Implementation of a System of Economic Education of the Public." [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Feb 85 p 2] 9853

SOCIOPOLITICAL SESSION IN LUBLIN--The PZPR Provincial Committee in Lublin devoted its plenary session to sociopolitical determining factors and problems of cultural development in Lublin Province. Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary, participated in the deliberations. In presenting his opinion on the problems raised at the plenum, he stressed that culture has always played an important role in our national life. This was confirmed, in particular, by the years of Poland's nonexistence on world maps when culture, among other things, made it possible for us to

survive. The Central Committee secretary discussed the undertakings, including legislative measures, which are being assumed by the authorities and which pertain to the development of cultural activity in the country. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

BEDNARSKI MEETS STUDENTS--On the 19th of this month, PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski met in Warsaw with the participants of the seminar for the socialist student youth unions aktiv. The main tasks of the party and of youth unions in institutions of higher learning and the problems of the sociopolitical situation in the country were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

PLANS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION--On the 19th of this month the presidium of the Planning Commission examined the assumptions for the development of education and upbringing for the years 1986 to 1995, worked out by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, as well as the assumptions for the development of higher education up to the year 1990, worked out by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. The premises and methods aimed at achieving an improvement in the conditions and functioning of the entire scope of the system of education, upbringing and higher education, with particular attention paid to increasing its effectiveness and the quality of education, were discussed. The following participated in the meeting chaired by Manfred Gorywoda, deputy premier and chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission: Bronislaw Ratus, director of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Science and Education, and representatives of the PZPR Central Committee Economic Department, the Polish National Bank, and the ministries of education and upbringing, and science and higher education. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

MESSNER MEETS BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR--On the 23rd of this month, Deputy Premier and PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Zbigniew Messner received the ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Georgi Georgiev. The topic of the discussion were problems of bilateral cooperation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 85 p 4] 9853

DISCUSSIONS WITH SYRIA--On the 23rd of this month, the minister of foreign affairs and PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Stefan Olszowski, met with the ambassador of the Syrian Arab Republic, Muhammad T. Juhani. The topic of the discussion was the development of the existing good bilateral relationship between Poland and Syria. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 85 p 4] 9853

SIWAK IN EBLAG--On the 23rd of this month, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Albin Siwak met with a 200-plus-member group of representatives of work forces from various plants and Ornet communities in Elblag Province. He presented the shaping of the socioeconomic and political situation in the country. He also spoke at great length about the problems of the building industry. He stated that in alleviating the housing situation of work forces, work plants must render much greater assistance than has been the case until now. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 85 p 4] 9853

STANCZYKIEWICZ BIOGRAPHY--Upon the recommendation of the minister of metallurgy and engineering industry, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Stanislaw Stanczykiewicz to the post of undersecretary of state in this ministry with a concurrent appointment to the post of the first deputy minister. Stanislaw Stanczykiewicz was born in 1935 in Wielka Wies in Tarnow Province to a peasant family. He completed his higher education at the Warsaw Polytechnical School in the Automotive and Tractor Department, where he received a master's degree in mechanical engineering. Between 1961 and 1979, he worked at the Ursus Mechanical Plants, where he was promoted to successively higher posts from senior technologist to department manager and head of production. In 1979, he was transferred to the Ursus Tractor Industry Association, where he held the post of business manager. From 1981, he was the general manager of this association. He is a member of the PZPR. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

SEJM ELECTIONS DISCUSSED--On the 7th of this month, a seminar organized by the PZPR Central Committee Press, Radio and Television Department was held for reporters. It was devoted to the subject of the elections campaign to the Sejm and to a general discussion of the assumptions of the new electoral law. Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski presented the political tasks related to the elections campaign. The vice marshal of the Sejm, Pitor Stefanski, discussed the role of the people's parliament during the 40-year period and the accomplishments of the 7th term of office. The assumptions of the elections campaign and, against this background, the role of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], were the subject of the information presented by PRON National Council Deputy Chairman Andrzej Beszterda. The director of the State Council Chancellery, Andrzej Bancer, characterized the assumption of the draft plan of the new electoral law. The seminar deliberations were led by Czeslaw Rowinski, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Press, Radio and Television Department. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

SOVIET DELEGATION ARRIVES--A delegation of the CPSU Central Committee's theoretical and political publication, KOMMUNIST, led by Yuriy Afanasev, member of the editorial board of KOMMUNIST, paid a visit to Poland between the 6th and 13th of this month at the invitation of NOWE DROGI. During the discussions held at NOWE DROGI with the participation of the editor-in-chief, Stanislaw Wronski, information about the work of the fraternal publications was exchanged and plans for further cooperation in 1985 were outlined. The delegation was received by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and PZPR Central Committee secretary; by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences; and by Bronislaw Ratus, director of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Education and Science. The delegation visited Kielce Province, where it acquainted itself with the experiences of party activity during, among others, a meeting with the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Kielce, Maciej Lubczynski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

ORZECHOWSKI MEETS JOURNALISTS--At the initiative of the party organization of TRYBUNA LUDU, a meeting of its journalists with Prof Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member and rector of the PZPR Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, was held in the editorial office of our newspaper. The meeting was devoted to the subject of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution, particularly on the basis of our party's experiences. The basis for the discussion was Prof M. Orzechowski's book "Controversy Over the Marxist Theory of Revolution," published by the Book and Knowledge [KiW] publishing house in 1984. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

POREBSKI IN SKIERNIEWICE--The PZPR Provincial Committee plenum in Skiernewice was devoted to the tasks of party echelons and organizations in the elections campaign. Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, and Brig Gen Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the PZPR Central Committee Cadre Development, participated in the deliberations. In connection with the appointment of the former PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary, Janusz Kubasiewicz, to the post of director of the PZPR Central Committee Administrative Department, the plenum released him from the post of Provincial Committee first secretary and executive board member. Tadeusz Porebski sincerely thanked Janusz Kubasiewicz in the name of the Politburo and of the Central Committee first secretary, Wojciech Jaruzelski, for his work and party activity in Skiernewice Province. Next, in the name of the Politburo and the executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Tadeusz Porebski recommended Franciszek Wirska, who until now was the secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee for organizational matters, to the post of Provincial Committee first secretary. In secret balloting, in which 63 PZPR Provincial Committee members took part, 55 supported his nomination. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12-13 Jan 85 p 2] 9853

CSO: 2600/604

YUGOSLAVIA

SPIRO GALOVIC DISCUSSES ETATISM, IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 84 pp 6,7

/Interview with Spiro Galovic, member of the Presidium, Serbian LC Central Committee, by Pance Zafirovski; time and place not indicated/

/Text/ Within the framework of the general party debate on the draft resolutions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, the editorial board of KOMUNIST, with the support of resolutions of the LCY Central Committee on ideological and theoretical activities, has initiated a series of discussions of the state of ideological consciousness in the LCY and on ideological trends in society. The contributors have been comrades from among the highest leadership of party LC organizations in republics and provinces, who are responsible for this realm of party work. In this issue, we spoke with Spiro Galovic, a member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

/Question/ The ideological activity of the LCY has been the subject of debate for a year or two now. Many meetings devoted to that topic have been held. Has anything changed fundamentally in this area, has this ideological offensive given any results?

/Answer/ I am convinced that LC actions in recent times have borne results, at least in some areas of public life. I am not quite ready to say that anything has changed fundamentally, but I believe that the critical debate which has taken place since the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, as an open process, is leading to basic changes both in society and in the League of Communists. The combination of strategy and everyday action is, it is true, taking place more slowly than we might wish, but in a sense slow is a synonym for democratic. If something more precise need be said about trends in the so-called ideological sphere, then I would direct your attention to the phenomenon of ideologically relevant disputes within the culture and theory themselves, to the fact that certain conservative positions of a nationalist and dogmatic nature as well as anti-Marxist

ideas in social theory more frequently than previously are disputed by means of scientific and social criticism. For me at least, that is a fact of undeniable importance. I think you will agree that it is much better, for example, for the conservative theses of this or that individual from culture and science to be challenged by people from those areas rather than for me to do that from the political podium, or to have you comment in KOMUNIST as the only critic. I do not underestimate the value of your commentary or my own critical words about any conservative idea whatsoever, but rather I am only referring to the imperative that the ideological struggle must be waged on a broad basis. Society must be the stage for that struggle. If on the way to that goal we must endure some blows, that should not shake our resolve, for only in that manner can the ideological struggle grow into something more than purely political condemnation, empty and lifeless phrases. Instead of disputes between politics and culture and artificial polarization of any sort, we will have markedly more disputes within the culture and social theory themselves, which is the guarantee of critical enlightenment and sincere discussion of various conservative positions.

The Secret of Ideological Controversy

Question You speak of disputes within the culture. There are, however, disputes within politics as well, and even in the League of Communists itself, which relate to our future development and current conditions. Are not so-called ideological problems, including those in the culture, connected with those in politics and in basic social relationships?

Answer The ideological struggle is not only the clash of ideas that appear as some sort of external realities of socialism, no matter how we label them--foreign, antagonistic, or whatever you like. Rather, the ideological struggle is the process of seeking solutions, the defining of goals and intermediate goals, and the constant dialogue between the organized forces in society about numerous questions that make up the historical practice of socialism. Precisely in that sense we can talk about progress in recent times, for we have achieved a more complete identification of the basic contradictions of Yugoslav society today. In our perceptions, evolution has been and continues to be coupled with certain disputes, within politics, as you say, on the nature of trends in the economy and in the social causes of those trends, on the disintegration of society, etc. It has taken quite a bit of time to accept the demand for reconsideration of certain decisions in the economic and political systems, even though for a long time it has been possible to discern that the process of self-organization of the working class has been hampered by precisely those decisions. The secret of some ideological controversies, including those which at first glance have no causal relationship to the economic and political system in the narrow sense, is hidden

in various estimations of the causes of the economic and social crisis. Perhaps we should put no special emphasis on the idea that ideological problems in the cultural sphere and ideological problems in general have no absolute independence, they do not emerge of themselves. If we intensify them beyond all measure and make them independent of all social context and the fundamental problems of the society, then unavoidably we fall into a type of reductionism that has nothing in common with Marxism. In fact that is the idea of the immaculate conception which in an unusual manner makes its appearance in our ideology.

In the struggle against nationalism, bourgeois liberal and other tendencies, we really need socialist will and human courage against all types of opportunism. But this separation of ideological problems from their social foundations is also nothing but opportunism, since it is based on idealization of the existing state and overlooking of the responsibility of organized forces for realistic expansion of the operating theater for social and cultural progress. The pure ideological struggle, as a principle, only expands the scope of political voluntarism. The first priority of political life has this or that book or presentation, while the basic problems remain untouched. In this way we let ourselves open to the danger of defending everything that exists as though it were socialism. I have nothing against a political approach to books and presentations, but in jest I could ask this question: If art and culture are of fateful importance for the revolutionary struggle, why is not more attention paid by the socialist movement in the capitalist world to the formation of artists' colonies and theater festivals? Their energies in general are devoted to trade union battles, participation in and striving for the moral renewal of society, peace movements and local self-government, yet simply books, pictures and songs with suitable ideological messages could revolutionize society. Thus we are advocating a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of social processes and the struggle to instill the socialist meaning of culture. Reductionism of this type or that does not lead anywhere: economic reductionism is the same as fatalistic satisfaction with the existing state of affairs, it leads us to lack of involvement, for it states that supposedly nothing can be accomplished until the economic problems are resolved. On the other hand, idealistic reductionism, despite supposed militance and concreteness, remains extremely abstract, since it does not take the root of things into account. As a revolutionary movement, the League of Communists must control the main levers of the movement for every concrete historical situation. Those levers are contained in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

Negation of Bureaucratic Statist Power

Question But the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program is encountering both visible and concealed resistance. Its implementation

is going slowly. What is the ideological meaning of that resistance? It appears that many people do not want to view our ideological situation through this prism, and by circumventing the basic contradictions of society and the unresolved questions in the domain of production relationships and the political system, they stress the danger of various opponents, as if that danger was the most important thing.

Answer We should not be blind to various antisocialist tendencies while we easily gloss over the phenomena in which they are expressed. Yet in a certain way I have already expressed my position on the priority responsibilities of the revolutionary movement. To speak without cease about the opponents of socialism and leave aside one's own responsibilities for the socialist content of social trends is a typical bureaucratic maneuver and is one of the means for defending the status quo in basic social relationships. In this way the bureaucratic spirit attempts to conceal its own lack of creativity which, perhaps more than anything, threatens our socialist values and both immediate and long-term interests of producers. Nor does the resistance to the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program have any basis other than that of bureaucratic statism, for the actual implementation of the program brings into question independent political power and exposes the voluntaristic political mind as the main culprit in the stagnation of society's productive forces and self-management socialist relationships.

The hypostasis of negotiation and agreement appears as a barrier behind which intricate social processes take place whose character is revealed in the increasingly deplorable position of the producers, in the disintegration of society and finally, in an eclectic and confused entanglement of the state in economic and social life. Overcoming goods production as a way of life is the task of an entire generation, and consequently the socialist society, particularly if it begins from a low level of development of productive forces, has no choice but to orient its activities, as Slobodan Divjak would say, toward an internalized production overcoming of goods production as the social order. The long-term program returns us to respect for economic principles and the basis of production, but also to a modern, temporally determined regulation of economic life. The autonomy of economic parties in a unified Yugoslav market, which the program advocates without opposing association and contracting methods, contains at the same time important prerequisites for socialist democracy, while the social plans and developmental strategy which reaffirm the program also contain the measure of social intervention into elemental production of goods which emerges from economic activity as a demand of society's productive forces themselves. From the ideological point of view, that should not be a debatable topic, since the main ideas on which the program is based are contained in the LCY Program. Directly or indirectly, debate on the Long-Term Program from theoretical and ideological positions is nothing other than a pseudotheoretical

rationalization of interests that are obstacles to this reform of our economic system. In whose interest can it be to retain the existing irrationalisms which strike the eyes? The defenders of existing relationships speak reluctantly about extreme irrationalisms within the framework of large systems, of misguided investments, territorialization of banks, duplicate facilities that have been built even in the basic sectors, even though Yugoslavia's borders are too small for rational production in even a single such facility, and about chaotic import-export flows and similar facts that are unambiguously tied to existing decisions in our system.

Centralism Has Played Out Its Role

Question Sometimes exaggerated proclamation of the Long-Term Program is interpreted as advocacy of a restoration of old relationships and federal centralism in some form. Does that interpretation have any substance or rational basis?

Answer In the lively debate we are conducting, there are all sorts of polemical bravura, but that too is probably a part of the cultural and democratic maturation of society. As far as centralism is concerned, I do not see any foundation for a restoration since the concentration of means at the federal level is in principle impossible. Investment and other funds of the federation are things of the past. No sort of concealed or apparent nostalgia is a sufficient condition for renewing centralism. Thus we cannot even talk about centralism outside a historical context. Nevertheless, I do not regard the fear of centralism to be a negative thing to the degree that it truly has a foundation, to the degree that it is not merely a guise behind which people try to preserve existing relationships, or an expression of some sort of conviction that centralism suits some and does not suit others in economic and social ways. Centralism has played out its role, in some ways in a very positive manner, but at the present time it would be senseless and equally irrational for all peoples and nationalities, republics and provinces. It is antagonistic to the course of development of socialist democracy and self-management. On that course, however, new etatist barriers have been erected, and now we are talking about them. Do we want to continue the line of rejecting etatism? If we really want to see the victory of public interest, to achieve the historical self-initiative of the producers, we must recognize the character of urgent social processes in which a redistribution of power over the working class has just taken place. Polycentric etatism, just like the federal variant, threatens the relationships of equality of peoples and nationalities. Statemaking of federal entities would impose a division in Yugoslavia which would then extend to the internal reality of each of the eight parts and would tend to bring a deep division in the people and the government. The long-term program is one of the important means for eliminating such

tendencies. It brings into question those decisions in the economic system, and indirectly in the political system, which undermine the unity of the economic entity and the unity of production relationships and finally, Yugoslavia itself as a unified socialist society.

Perhaps the motive of threatened unity is one of the most frequent topics in our press, journalism and public life. At times we encounter pamphlet forms of treating it, superficial treatment and various exaggerations. Yet we must admit that it is a real, and not an invented problem, and that simple rejection of discussion will only deepen the crisis in society. The worst thing is that in those processes, the League of Communists is gradually losing its identify and becoming blind to the restoration of various ideologies that we believed were decisively suppressed by our development up to now. The bureaucratization of society legitimately brings with it a strengthening of nationalist tendencies and provincialization of all kinds. Therefore, democratic and socialist denial of nationalism must contain a sharp antibureaucratic note. Bureaucratic absolutization of the nation is truly opposed to basic national interests because it is antidemocratic and is in contradiction to the revolutionary subjectivity of the working class.

/Question/ A little bit ago you mentioned presentations. In the discussion of certain topics and the so-called ideological sphere, various slogans have appeared, such as "the book against the book" line. For a while there was a slogan about the book as a political leaflet. What do you think about that?

/Answer/ A book is a product of the human intellect that can be conservative and opposed to social progress. Thus there are all sorts of books, valuable and exceptional ones, partially or completely dubious ones and totally worthless ones, including here some that pretend to be progressive. Opinion should not be exempt from criticism just because it is expressed in a certain form, in this case in book form. In our relatively undeveloped culture, critical opinion is expressed only with great difficulty, while a book at times is cloaked in a sacred mantle that is the more appealing as the book's actual value is the lesser. Those who expressly or implicitly claim some sort of absolute autonomy for the book and deny the possibility of an ideological analysis do not notice that by so doing they are rendering the book invalid as an intellectual creation. In the criticism of a book, like that of anything else, the important things are the arguments, the cogence of analysis and the presentation of the conclusions, while the form of the criticism as such is of secondary importance. Consequently, newspaper and any other type of criticism is legitimate as long as it holds to the requirements that criticism must fulfill.

If the slogan "the book against the book" is only a metaphor that directs us to this foundation for criticism, then it is acceptable,

but if it is taken literally, then it can be a paralyzing concept. Perhaps the expression calling a book a political pamphlet should also be regarded as some sort of a metaphor aiming at pointing out the reactionary content of some books, but it is even less successful as a metaphor than the former one. A book obligates us to read it in a certain way. You cannot read it in a streetcar like you read a poster or an advertisement; rather, you must retreat to the library, let us say, and devote the necessary time to it. Form after all is not some chancy or superficial thing. A pamphlet presupposes simplicity of approach. If we accept that a book can be like a pamphlet, then we have accepted the notion of someone who has proclaimed themselves to be a specialist for pamphlet-books, someone who determines that one book is a pamphlet and another is not, without the obligation to explain the criteria for such a determination, and perhaps without the obligation to read the book first and then decide on its merit.

Question The difficulties with the dialogue are not disappearing, we still do not have dialogue in the necessary amount. Can that be explained just as a shortage of democratic culture background, or are the reasons much deeper?

Answer The request for opening dialogue comes from the contradictions contained in real life. Thus dialogue is not possible in a simple manner: the juxtapositions it presupposes are always bound up by certain tensions and risks. We are all somewhat burdened by a sort of ideolistic perception of a society full of harmony in which everything develops smoothly. The truth, however, is that a tenacious spirit of intolerance constantly narrows the field of debate, but at the same time, that phenomenon has its social basis and can be overcome only over the long haul. The sensitivity to the word is greater as basic production relationships are less stable, which in our actual situation points up the importance of eliminating the presuppositions of independent political power in favor of the development of socialist self-management as a higher form of freedom in comparison to all the freedoms won in previous history.

The pressure of social reality, however, works somewhat in favor of a creative dialogue. If we had some newspapers of just a couple years ago at hand or even those of last year, I would be able to show you with citations how some positions that today are officially asserted were being criticized sharply at that time. Or, for example, when a few years ago Aleksander Glickov spoke convincingly about research, creative work and debate and defended political dialogue as an inhereent aspect of the revolutionary change of the world and the society, I know that he was disputed both privately and publicly. Those are the risks I mentioned above.

Debate Without Synthesis Is in Vain

Question Perhaps one reason for insufficient dialogue is found in the fact that among communists, and among those in leadership

forums, comradely relations are not strong enough. Is there a lack of closeness, understanding and tolerance, so that some normal and unavoidable disagreements take on an expressly political character and acquire dimensions that objectively are not there?

Answer In your question I see a reflex of the ideals that all of us carry in us as communists, if we really are communists. Specifically, each of us imagines himself in circumstances that would provide all of us opportunity for a fuller and more creative life, in which collective labor would be joined in some good way to creative independence, which would not compel us to circumvent and express ourselves in coded and overly allusive ways, in which we could finally show our individuality and be friends. But it is useless to lament over an unfavorable situation. Some of those goals after all are not unattainable. We would approach at least some of them if we were to make the system of election in the League of Communists more democratic--not to cite other prerequisites of a healthier climate and greater responsibility both in the LCY and in society. The bureaucratization of society has a destructive effect on the creative climate in the revolutionary movement, it suppresses productive potential and a democratic orientation. It leads us to the conclusion that certain laws of political struggle remain in force in the socialist society, among communists, and they in fact remain in force as long as the LCY continues to be strongly tied to government authority.

Therefore, we are not advocates of absolute unity, but the problem is that today's differences follow internal borders. The specificity of the present situation is expressed, among other ways, in the fact that there is the appearance of unity in the republics and provinces, the differences remain concealed, while at the level of Yugoslavia as a whole there are open differences. It is superfluous to bring out the problems of homogeneity that mean unity against the others. Unavoidable differentiation should extend throughout the society, largely independent of all borders. That will happen if socialist criteria of differentiation are moved to the fore. It is a fallacy to think that within the LCY it is possible for any group to have a vanguard position, regarding either a particular act or in criticism, or in defense of the status quo. Vanguardism, wherever it appears, only shows that it is not the LCY in practice.

Another problem is found in our modest capabilities to come to a decision even in places where the differences are only apparent, because they lack foundation in objectively given interests. We have the same problem where there are no differences at all. The incapacities increase the lack of unity, increase the isolation of political activists and deepen the differences. The ability to synthesize is one of the basic conditions of democratic life and socialist direction in public opinion. The breadth of debate is in vain if there is no resultant socialist synthesis. If the organized

work to achieve the latter is missing, the broad debate in society slides toward some sort of "liberalism without democracy" or toward a fruitless clash of narrow interests. Those parties who should be thinking about syntheses exhaust themselves in disputing unacceptable standpoints that reach public expression, and at times striking at completely justified criticism and intelligent suggestions.

Question / The decisions of the 13th session suggest an orientation toward broader gathering of society's progressive forces. That orientation presupposes breadth of discussion and creative work on defining concrete decisions. Would its actual application contribute to improving this work on a synthesis?

Answer / The creative dimension of the movement depends in large part on our readiness to tie social decisions on a broad basis to progressive social opinion. Without breadth and competence, essentially nothing worthwhile can be accomplished. Therefore, the orientation on a broad front of socialist action is not a superficial and formal matter. A wide group of scientific and public workers took part in the preparation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, but such a collective is more the exception than the rule in our work. Incidentally, for that success we are more indebted to personal initiative and the persistence of a few people, among whom I would single out Kiro Gligomov, than to anything else. Yet the problem has broader dimensions than any individual example can show. Among other things, it is related to our attitude toward abilities and knowledge. Mediocrity suppresses both knowledge and capabilities and working class interests, by imposing itself as the basic criterion in both politics and ideology. The struggle for capabilities and knowledge is in no sense elitism.

The orientation toward broader gathering of creating forces is essential in all domains of social life, but that orientation also obligates us to act toward people as toward creative individuals. If they are placed in the position of propagandists, from whom we expect support for positions that have already been taken in their arguments, then nothing will remain of the desired breadth of debate. At times we are driven toward precisely that type of narrow approach by that dogmatic spirit which perceives progressiveness as its own private domain, or seeks to repeat the same thing with increasing persistence.

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YUGOSLAVIA

RADOJLOVIC INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT ISSUES IN SERBIA

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1778, 27 Jan 85
pp 17-19

[Interview with Ziko Radojlovic, chairman of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP, by Milan Milosevic: "We Cannot Wait Any Longer"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "Politika" is the founder of NIN, and the founder of "Politika," as is well known, is the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia. In this commemorative issue we have therefore invited a representative of the "founder of our founder," the chairman of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP, to speak with us. We did not direct the conversation toward the usual topics on such an occasion, but toward those which we considered to be urgent at this moment.

[Question] The debate conducted throughout the party in the middle of last year brought to the surface a number of demands of the rank and file of the League of Communists pertaining to economics and social welfare, self-management and politics. How do you evaluate the disposition of that majority of our citizens who are not members of the LC?

[Answer] Although that was not intended to be a debate involving the entire citizenry, those were months of extremely broad and lively political activity. In work collectives, for example, the party meetings were true worker gatherings. The speakers included those who were members of the LC and those who were not.

It has turned out that the disposition of the majority of our citizens is identical with the views expressed in the debate of the Proposal of Conclusions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee and also that the working people and citizens have confidence in the League of Communists, which, of course, imposes a very great obligation.

[Question] What demands were especially stressed?

[Answer] People demand unity above all, particularly unity in the leadership. The working people and citizens, and this was expressed throughout the country, see their future in a united Yugoslavia. This, of course, always implies

equality, brotherhood and unity as well. They are against the shattering of that unity, against the isolation behind republic and provincial borders, they know very well how much that encapsulation and partialization has cost us in the past, and they see how much damage it is causing this very day. That is why they are so energetic in their demands that unity based on socialist self-management defend and preserve itself. This is not only a serious warning, but also an obligation and a responsibility for everyone, especially for people holding positions of leadership.

[Question] There were also sharp words about social justice.

[Answer] Communists have fought, as they put it, for social justice from Day 1. Our revolution would not have been victorious if it had not had that content. But today we have put that justice in serious doubt. Put most succinctly, we must strengthen and reaffirm the principle of distribution according to the results of work. Otherwise we will not prosper. This is a condition and prerequisite of many other things--from socialist ethics and morals all the way to higher productivity and larger output. This is an essential condition for the continuity of our revolution. The present processes of social stratification, about which much was also said in the debate, are a source of appreciable dissatisfaction. The reaction is not coming only from the veterans, as it is usually put. The young people are also reacting, indeed even more. People do not accept a situation in which there are those who work conscientiously and responsibly, but live a hard life, while others with little work or none at all enjoy all the benefits of this society.

Of course, the sensitivity to social injustices is greater in a situation when, as has been the case for several years now, the personal standard of living is dropping, when the number of unemployed, especially young people, is rising. In the absence of sufficiently effective measures to halt those processes, we must have a well-thought-out social welfare policy, and it is good that the belief that such a policy is needed is more and more evident in every community. This is a matter which cannot wait any longer.

[Question] It is indispensable to guarantee the conditions for emerging from the crisis which is giving rise to these social welfare problems. But we are witnesses that the disputes which are standing in the way of changes are still persisting. We are referring here first of all to the inconsistency in carrying out the economic stabilization and also to disputes about changes in the political system.

[Answer] That is an entire set of issues affecting all domains of life. You are right when you emphasize inconsistencies in carrying out the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. But since implementation of the economic stabilization is a rather old topic, it seems to me more instructive for us to talk more about changes in the political system, a topic that is very urgent today.

One forced and actually false dilemma has fallen away, that of favoring or opposing changes in the political system. By and large we have come to understand that changes in the political system are needed. Debate of this topic

is now obviously going more calmly and with greater tolerance, which is not always a strong point of our political debates. At this point it can already be said that we are dealing above all with differing opinions, not so much with disputes.

[Question] Through what phases has the politicization of those differing opinions concerning the political system passed?

[Answer] There are two things in your question which need to be distinguished. One is the criticism of the political system which is directed from the positions of the bourgeois right, which, of course, we cannot accept for several reasons, among them the fact that behind it there are nationalistic motives and because it places our entire political system under a question mark.

Yet it is a fact that a battle is being waged even in the League of Communists over the future qualitative advancement of the political system. Solutions are being sought for emerging from this crisis. A critical attitude toward parts of the system was described at the beginning, and that with a great deal of ferocity, as an effort to tear down the basic AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. However, in the course of the debate and the general pointing up of many things which are not only illogical, but indeed obvious obstacles to harmonious function in a number of areas, because of the system's incompleteness, much of that has become clearer. I think that we are now in a phase of more or less general consensus on the need for certain changes. The issue is still, of course, what everybody means by that. It is obvious that certain differences do exist. But presumably no one thinks seriously of allowing a departure from the AVNOJ principles, from the basic revolutionary achievements and from the development of self-management in this society of ours, under the leadership of the League of Communists.

It is obvious that a number of points things must change even at the heart of the system in order to facilitate in that way the realization of the society's future development in material terms and in terms of self-management. The very fact that for years appeals have been issued to the working class to work more, to produce more and to do it more productively, for there to be more responsibility in society, when there were no changes behind those demands, when nothing was changing, obviously has something to say. The point is not, I would say, that the people are no good, but that something needs to be changed in the system, since a man does indeed behave according to the objective position he is put in.

[Question] What would you say about the causes of the sometimes quite fierce disputes in our society?

[Answer] The sources of what sometimes seem to be irreconcilably differing opinions in our country are actually differing interests, usually material interests, which no one invented, but which are objectively given. However, if the form for overcoming those differences is not one based on self-management, but has a bureaucratic-statist presentation, political disputes are inevitable, political relations become aggravated and there is a loss of confidence.

It is in that context that we should set the disputes about the constitutional institutionalization and functioning of the Republic of Serbia as a composite sociopolitical community incorporating the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo, which are at the same time a constituent element of the Federation as well.... Quite a bit was said about this recently at the 18th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, and I have nothing new to say except to add that both party members and the working people and citizens in Serbia perceive that meeting as a serious stimulus to settling issues more rapidly. Now we have to transform the views of that meeting into practical steps and solutions.

[Question] What would you say about the increasingly frequent demands for democratization of personnel policy and changes in the electoral system?

[Answer] Over the last several years we have taken large strides in the democratization of our political, cultural and overall social life. This is not rhetoric, this is a fact.

Most citizens are in favor of new practical steps in the democratization of personnel policy and electoral procedure. This in fact occupied a visible place in the debate which took place on the Proposal of Conclusions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. I would stress, however, that although these demands are justified, this still does not mean that everything that has been done so far and the amount of effort applied have been what they should be.

[Question] What are you referring to specifically?

[Answer] For example, people talk constantly about certain "closed circles" which have usurped all the rights of those who are supposed to make decisions on election of an individual in a democratic manner. I think people go too far in this. I have been chairman of the Coordinating Committee for Personnel Policy of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP for 2 or 3 years now, and I know the situation. There is also exaggeration in the criticism of those coordinating bodies which, as is well known, were established by the Social Compact on Personnel Policy in Sociopolitical Communities. They are made up of representatives of sociopolitical organizations, self-managing bodies and institutions who were democratically elected to those bodies. Moreover, people often forget that considerations concerning personnel decisions in coordinating bodies are preceded by prenomination procedure and nomination procedure and consultations, which affords people ample opportunity to say what they think about the various candidates. I do not deny that there is sometimes behavior which could be and which has been the subject of criticism, but can we even imagine any ideal situation in this respect?

We have to fight more resolutely the closed circles which you mentioned, narrow the space for some kind of privatization of activity within narrow fields and in informal bodies. The democratization of personnel policy and electoral procedure is our immediate task. That policy will be democratic insofar as our self-managing social relations as a whole are democratic and insofar as we are consistent in pursuing that direction. After all, we cannot expect

democratization of personnel policy when the development of self-management is suffering seriously from bureaucratic-statist tendencies at all levels.

[Question] Who are all the people who had to be consulted for you to be elected chairman of the republic conference?

[Answer] The opstinas were consulted, all the regions, all the political executive bodies at the level of the republic--the Presidency of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, the assemblies, the trade unions, the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, the Federation of Veterans, the Youth League and both provinces.... Incidentally, this kind of procedure is envisaged in the Social Compact on Conduct of Personnel Policy of SR Serbia, which is being consistently enforced.

[Question] Can it be said that democratization of our overall social relations is in fact a precondition for emerging from the crisis?

[Answer] It is true and indisputable that this is one of the conditions for emerging from our present situation. Our society as a whole and the LC are putting exceptional emphasis on this. But that does not mean any sort of democratization, for example, of the bourgeois type or any other, but our own, self-managing, socialist, a democratization of which democratization in the basic relations of production and distribution are a primary condition and prerequisite, one in which the direct producers directly take command of the totality of social reproduction.

The point I would like to emphasize is the place of those basic relations of production and distribution in the development of our socialist democracy, precisely because of the increasingly militant approach of tendencies and forces which are against self-management and against socialism. In their demands for the freedom of thought and democratization of society one clearly recognizes the kind of "democracy" which is outside our real self-management social relations, a democracy of the bourgeois multiparty system, of political pluralism and the like.

[Question] What, then, is the balance between the democratic and antidemocratic tendencies in our society?

[Answer] There is no doubt that that balance is in favor of the forces and tendencies which favor democracy and self-management. This does not mean that we dare to underestimate the antidemocratic forces. As we approach the 13th LCY Congress we must do everything to bolster that balance as fully as possible on behalf of democratization of society, on behalf of new breakthroughs in development of self-management, to strengthen the equality, brotherhood and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, and so on. We will succeed in this if our goals are continuously and still more definitely inspired by the needs and interests of the working class, the working people and citizens, if we are consistent in combating every type of nationalism, if we emerge from the situation we are in more effectively and rapidly. The antisocialist forces are feeding on our weaknesses, inconsistencies, disunity and vagueness. They do not have the support of the working class and the people, they have

more support outside in certain intelligence centers in the world, as remnants of the hostile emigre community and especially in international anticomunist centers.

[Question] People often say that religious people are equal members of the socialist front. It would seem that in certain outward details we are much greater sectarians today than, say, in 1945. We do not recall any official conveying good wishes to religious people on one of their holidays.

[Answer] Religious people have been and will be equal members of the Socialist Alliance. Why shouldn't they be, assuming, of course, that they are not opposed to the development of our self-managing society?

As far as major and important religious events are concerned, they are attended by representatives of the government, the government administration and political representatives. From time to time there are meetings between a representative of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the leadership of the religious communities. I have always had a feeling that those contacts are constructive and worthwhile--the talk is open even concerning the most delicate matters. I do not see that today we are greater sectarians than we were in 1945, and it is a question whether we were in fact sectarians in 1945. A discrete attitude, then, has been constantly developed, and mutual cooperation with the religious communities has been strengthened. When certain misunderstandings do arise, they are overcome rather effectively. As for the messages of good wishes referred to in your question, religion is a strictly private matter for each citizen, and there is good reason why it is not customary to send such greetings.

[Question] What would the position of the SAWP of Serbia be, say, if the Serbian Orthodox Church were to request that important services in the Cathedral be carried over television?

[Answer] I think that that could not go through.

[Question] Are we sectarians, for example, concerning election of religious people or individuals who are not members of the LC to positions of leadership? What would you say about the amount of confidence we show in young people in electing them to positions?

[Answer] Probably there is sectarianism with respect to election of religious people and people who are not members of the LC to places of leadership. What is more, it also exists in the election of responsible officials and forums of the Socialist Alliance, but that is changing, and it is certain that it will continue to change. As for the attitude toward young people in this regard, it should be said that in delegate assemblies and many forums of sociopolitical organizations there are more and more young people whose election, moreover, did not require a party card. The decisive criterion in their election was their attitude toward the development toward self-management and the achievements of this society. We are now approaching 1986, an election year, and it will certainly bring new changes in personnel which certainly will be significant in their scale. We can even say there will be a sizable turnover

of personnel. A considerable number of people from the wartime generation of party members will leave operational posts in the government and party. People will be leaving who have built their entire life into the foundations of our country. While endeavoring to get young and able people elected to positions of responsibility, we should also call attention to the criterion that in their ideological and political commitment they must be a reliable point of support and guarantee for the continuity of our revolution. At the same time we must create the conditions so that those who are now leaving operational public offices, and those who previously left them, continue according to their respective abilities to be involved in political life and to make their contribution to the country's development. The age groups which are coming along dare not deprive themselves of that valuable experience, revolutionary commitment and readiness, which has been of inestimable importance to us, precisely in these problematical times.

[Question] We are witnesses that certain issues are being debated with certain individuals and groups in the field of culture, that the League of Communists favors a documented dialogue and not the method of condemnation. What do you think, should a part of the so-called opposition, in spite of the ideological differences, join the SAWP and carry on a dialogue with them within it?

[Answer] Before I give a direct answer to the question, I would like to recall that the Socialist Alliance is an open and variegated sociopolitical organization, that there are ample opportunities for dialogue within it. Yet dialogue can be carried on only on a course which takes for granted self-management, equality, preservation of the country's independence, the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and the other achievements of the revolution. We do not take enough advantage of that opportunity. There is still a sizable portion of the potential, especially of young specialized and educated people committed to self-management, outside the forums for discussion and forms of activity of the SAWP.

I would especially like to emphasize in this connection that specialized societies and associations are not being sufficiently used as unique forms of activity of the SAWP. Very often, for example, the currents in literature, philosophy and sociology are discussed predominantly in activs of party members. There needs to be more talk on the spot, in meetings of the societies and associations themselves, as recently took place in the Association of Serbian Writers at 7 Francuska Street. Probably individuals thought that in that meeting they would win broader verification of their views, which by and large are already well known and have nothing in common with our society. It turned out that they were unsuccessful in this. Certain shocks were absorbed which otherwise such a meeting might evoke if differing opinions had not been heard in a direct confrontation of members of the same profession and, I would say, guild.

As for the so-called opposition and the possibility of its joining the SAWP and carrying on a dialogue with it--it is clear from everything I have said so far that the openness of the SAWP does not mean that room should be given to the opposition. Of course, opposition to me means forces opposed to socialism and self-management. They cannot assume any sort of partnership role in the SAWP; a fight has to be waged against them.

[Question] Let us tie all these questions together with one we are greatly interested in at this moment of our anniversary: the role of the public. The basic demand ought to be--to inform. If we are silent, are we working "to our own detriment"?

[Answer] That is a very important question. It is the public which has a very important role here, it can offer many stimuli to the development of society, it can help things to become clearer, especially when there are certain disputes blocking our way. Our public is mature, it wants unity and it wants the continuity of the revolution. That was demonstrated by the party debate this summer. That is why in the future we must as a society devote ever greater attention to that public, not only giving more space for the information function, but also encouraging his creative contribution to all the currents of a self-managing society.

It is in that light, as we celebrate the 50th anniversary of your newspaper, that I think we should see the future activity of NIN as a recognized and important factor in our public.

[Box, p 18]

Multiple Candidates

[Question] Will there be multiple candidates in the next elections?

[Answer] It is quite beyond debate that it is more democratic to have multiple candidates than to have only one on the list. We have to insist on an electoral procedure in which the citizen feels that he can truly choose and that he has elected the individual official; that his will and determination are incorporated into that election. However, he must remain in the position of a political principal not only at the moment of the election, but also during the term of office of the individual elected, constant questions must be put to him and he must be consulted when decisions are being made, he must have a creative influence on social developments, which is one of the essential commitments of our delegate system. There is no doubt whatsoever that all of this is a very important element in the stability of our political system and society.

Our goal is to elect, as it is popularly termed, the right people to the right places, but still we cannot leave ourselves to any kind of spontaneous and uncontrolled processes in arriving at multiple candidates and at those right individuals. We know how much political harm that kind of uncontrolled process has inflicted on us in a previous period. In our context, when it is necessary in personnel policy to honor the ethnic, social and other composition of elected forums and officials, the electoral procedure, as we have already said, must be democratic, but it must also be sufficiently organized and well conceived.

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YUGOSLAVIA

ISLAMIC PAPER CRITICIZES FOREIGN PRESS ON ALLEGED PERSECUTION

[Editorial Report] The 1 February 1985 issue of PREPOROD, Islamic bimonthly published in Sarajevo, (pp 2-3) refutes claims of Muslim persecution in Yugoslavia made in three foreign Islamic publications: the Iranian paper KEYHAN, the Saudi Arabian journal ARABIA, and the London Muslim news magazine IMPACT.

According to PREPOROD, the Tehran paper KEYHAN reported "stories" about the banning of Muslim publications and desecration of Muslim graves in Kosovo and Bosnia, and about Yugoslav jails being full of Muslim religious leaders and intellectuals. PREPOROD says "We do not know how many Muslims are in jail, but we know that there are also members of all other religions in Yugoslavia, members of all peoples and nationalities, even a large number of LC members in the same prisons for violating the law." At the same time PREPOROD says, the "Iranian revolutionaries have forgotten how the thousands of followers of Qotbzadeh were finished off, how it holds many in prisons, and how it has damaged Islam and its teachings."

The journal ARABIA has reportedly spread disinformation about a Yugoslav "ban" on publishing the Koran and other Islamic literature, Yugoslav efforts to keep Muslims from having economic and academic contacts with Muslim countries, and "stories" about an anti-Islamic campaign being waged in Yugoslavia.

This journal and IMPACT are said to have exaggerated or sensationalized the problems regarding construction of the Zagreb mosque and the circumstances of the fire at the site. IMPACT is faulted especially for including articles by Kerim Reis, "the biggest international liar in regard to Islam and Muslims in Yugoslavia" and one who "tries to sow discord among the peoples and nationalities, their brotherhood and unity...; his crimes should finally be publicized" and he should be exposed "as an enemy not only of Yugoslavia but also of Islam and of the Muslims in Yugoslavia," PREPOROD says.

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YUGOSLAVIA

REPORTER'S REJOINDER ON 'DAUCHAU TRIALS'

AU051001 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Feb 85 p 2

[Jovan Pjevic article: "The Truth About 'Truths'"]

[Excerpts] It is surprising and amazing that a man of Vladimir Krivic's standing makes use of guesses and suppositions in assessing historical events such as the so-called Dachau trial [1948 trial and conviction of Yugoslavia of former Dachau inmates who were prewar communists on charges of having collaborated with the Nazis, a trial later acknowledged by the Yugoslav authorities to have been a mistake; Krivic was prosecutor at this trial]. According to Krivic, the trial was not organized with a view to uncovering and extirpating the remains of the Gestapo network, that is, improving the security on one's own country, but to prove the "unjustifiedness of Stalin's criticism...!" Considering the authenticity and independence of our national liberation struggle and the revolution and our completely autonomous position at that time in relation to Stalin's regime as well, such an assumption is not only illogical and unnatural, but also pure nonsense.

In an attempt to minimize his role in one of the four so-called Dachau trials, and to say that he was only an accidental extra in all that, Krivic is trying to denigrate the republican minister of interior affairs at that time. He invokes a conversation with the minister about which there are no written documents, and the minister, unfortunately, is no longer alive to deny or confirm Krivic's assertions. He was presumably not appointed public prosecutor by the interior minister as he suggests to us, but by the competent government body!

One concludes from Krivic's "explanation" that his only task at the Dachau trial was "to give some political explanations, if needed," so one gets the impression that the trial had two public prosecutors: the military prosecutor "who had studied all the documents very well," and Krivic, for "political explanations!" The fact is, however, that the suit was prosecuted and the indictment read by Vladimir Krivic as a regular public prosecutor who took up that office after holding the office of assistant minister of foreign affairs and member of cadre service of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Belgrade.

Krivic claims that at that time (1948), the public prosecutor's office and the court "did not have a status that would correspond to a democratic and humane socialist system," although he should know, as a man who exercised various very responsible party and state offices during the war and in the subsequent period (he was a secretary of the Slovene National Liberation Council, worked on the organization of the new people's government, was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia, assistant political commissar of the Supreme Command of the National Liberation Army of Slovenia, and so on), that a new people's judicial system was established during the National Liberation War and that the Communist Party, national front, new people's government, and the staffs of the National Liberation Army consistently obeyed all international legal standards, and that humane and legal trials to both the occupiers and their domestic servants were insisted upon.

Krivic claims "that it is also known that this trial (the Dachau trial--our remark) was a political trial," but he fails to cite any document that would confirm this contention. Then he says that "one can...reproach the court and the prosecutor's office for being naive, indoctrinated, or professionally deficient...." How could an experienced lawyer, such as the chairman was, and an experienced political and state official such as Public Prosecutor Krivic was, have been "naive," "unprofessional," "indoctrinated?" During that trial, as a commission of experts established, "grave mistakes" were made, and there were "abuses," but no material proof has been discovered, as yet, that it was a "staged political trial," and it is known that the trial was public and before a civilian and not a military court; the court bench was chaired by an experienced and approved lawyer and judge, the accused had their defense attorneys, the prosecutor and the court had not only a right and an obligation, but also a possibility to demand additional proofs and to visit the accused in prison, the court pronounced the sentence independently, etc.

The statements issued by the Slovenia LC Central Committee Presidium and the Slovenia SAWP Republican Conference Presidium in July 1984 particularly stress that the two presidiums "resolutely reject all attempts to present the so-called Dachau trials as Stalinist, Because what was at stake at these trials was not a conflict of individuals, nor a desire to usurp power, which was typical of the Stalinist trials." On the contrary, Krivic claims without any proof that these were staged trials and expects his version, without argument, to be given more credence than the finds of an impartial commission of experts!

A question arises: Why does Comrade Krivic want, at any price, to impose on us his subjectivist version and interpretation of the Dachau trials, and in doing so ignore the basic judicial rule that "nobody can be a judge in his own case?" Another question arises: Why does he so stubbornly give statements and write articles in which he presents assessments that are completely opposite to those given in the documented statements of the two presidiums, and why, if he does not agree with these statements, does he not demand a debate within the republican leadership and the LC?

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END